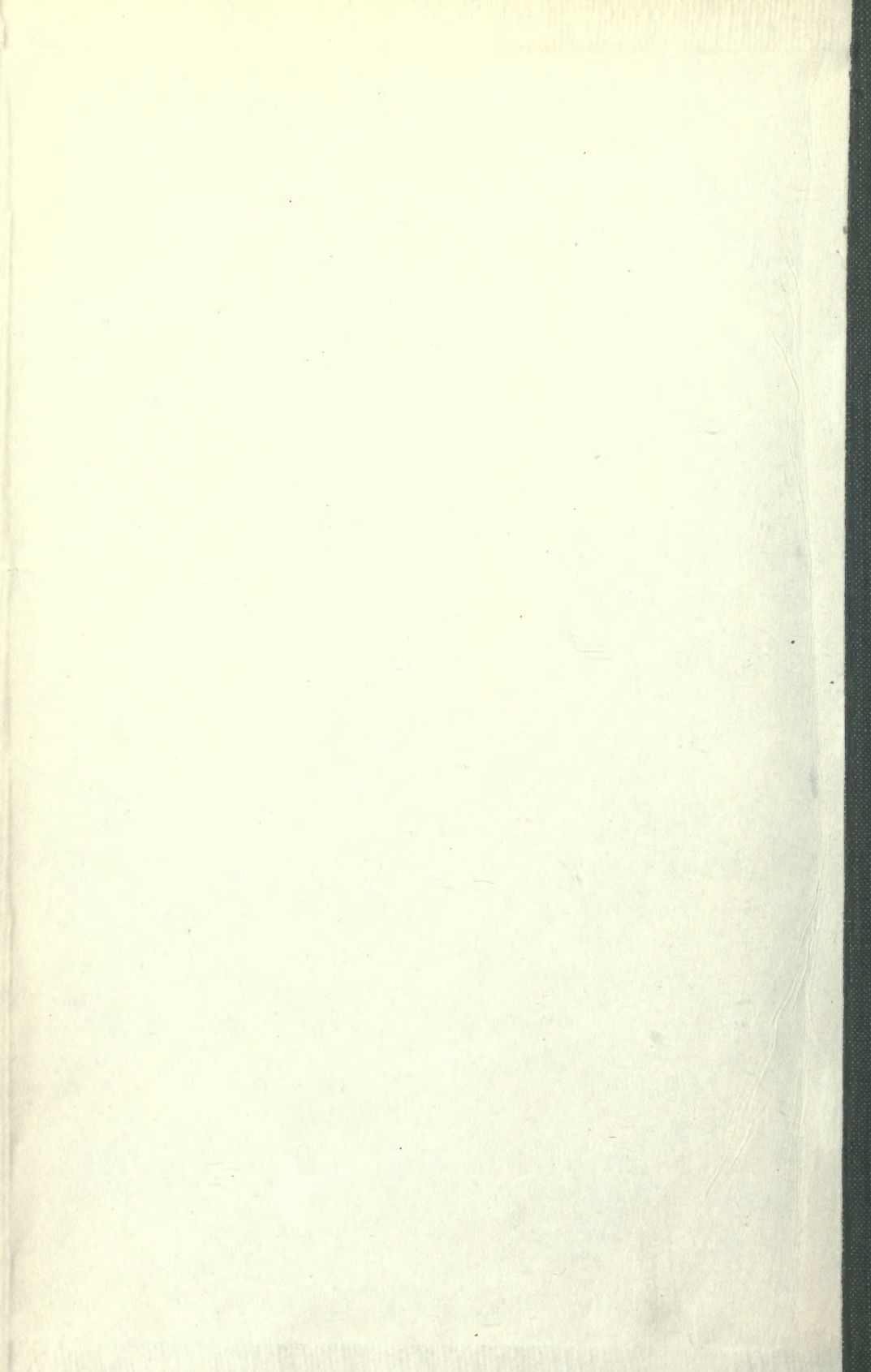


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The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME IV. JULY, 1894 NUMBER I

IN even a cursory examination of those books of the Old Testament, which contain in one form or another what may be called the Mosaic system, one realizes that everywhere the religious element is the most common. A closer examination, if it includes at the same time a comparison of the Mosaic system with other ancient systems, will bring to light still stronger evidence of this characteristic. But in what now does this religious element consist? We may answer in general: (1) in the supreme place assigned to sacrifice. No one will deny this who recalls the various kinds of sacrifice, the care with which each kind is separated from every other, the remarkable detail given for each ceremonial act, the symbolical significance which attaches itself to every feature of the ceremony. Or (2) in the prominence given the order of the priesthood, as seen in the selection of a particular tribe and a particular family from that tribe; as seen in the ritual, in accordance with which the priests were set apart for their sacred work; in the rules which regulated the contact of their life with that of others. Or, (3) in the elaborate system of days and seasons for festivals and worship; a system which provided for every seventh day, every seventh year, and every fiftieth year; which included the festivals of Spring, Summer and

Autumn; which brought even the ordinary acts of life into connection, direct or indirect, with the God who was worshiped. Is it possible to deny the prominence of the religious element in this great system?

THERE is also noticeable what may be called the civil element. The term is not a very definite one, but under it may be included the judicial and constitutional factors. Provision is certainly made for administering justice, and history shows that justice was administered. Moses himself soon learned that he could not attend to all the cases of dispute which arose among the people, and so very early in his administration it was found advisable to organize a judicial system. This was not elaborate, but without question it answered the purpose it was intended to subserve. That the system as a whole was exceedingly flexible appears from the fact that although it was organized under a dictatorship, the system, with all its departments, was able to adjust itself to the period of the judges, in which every man did that which was right in his own eyes; to the period of the united kingdom under Saul, David and Solomon; to the period of the divided kingdom, and to the period of the hierarchy. The Mosaic system does not represent a particular form of government as superior to every other form. It nowhere teaches that a republic, or a monarchy, or a hierarchy is the divinely authorized form of government. The principles of liberty and equality are found embedded in the system, but there seems to be no distinct purpose to teach these principles. Whatever the form of the government, Jehovah is the ruler. Men, by whatever name they may be called, are for the time being his representatives. It is God who sets up the king and who, for disobedience, deposes him. It is Jehovah of Hosts who leads the armies of Israel. There is without question a civil element in this system, but it is equally sure that there is no civil purpose; no purpose, as it has been said, to present through Israel to the world a typical form of government which shall be understood by Israel and by the world to be a divine form. All rulers, it is true, receive their power from God. But this is just the point; God will act through

any form of government ; through any duly authorized head, be he judge or prophet or king or priest. Again, we see that there is a civil element in the system, but no purpose to establish a civil system.

ONE cannot fail to note also an important sociological element in the Mosaic system. This appears for example in the ordinances which are laid down respecting the position of woman ; ordinances which honor her, but which do not give her the place of honor she occupied among the Egyptians. Her rights in many particulars are secured by law, but in many other particulars are left without definite determination. Or, in the place assigned to the slave in the social system. Here again leniency is the characteristic feature. The system found slavery as well as polygamy. The time had not yet come for either of them to be prohibited. They are regulated, and while these regulations certainly ameliorated the position of both the woman and the slave as compared with the condition of both in neighboring nations, the regulations on these subjects interposed barriers, temporary at least, to the highest purpose. These regulations indicated that a higher step is being taken ; a step certainly as high as the people of those times could be persuaded to take, whether by human or divine influence. The system contains then a sociological element. It was not, however, intended to teach a sociological system, or even the principles of such a system. If such a system is intended, it is certainly not a final one, nor in any sense ideal.

ONE finds also much of the hygienic element in the Mosaic system. Does some one ask where? The answer is quickly found. In the rite of circumcision which is today recommended by many physicians as most healthful ; in the distinction, everywhere marked and emphasized, between the clean and unclean in food, a distinction based, in large measure at least, upon the question of what was wholesome or unwholesome for the people of a particular climate ; or in the exceeding care taken by all concerned in reference to that most terrible of all

diseases, leprosy; or in the extremely rigorous cleansing required in connection with all sexual issues; or in the care taken that no contamination should result from contact with the dead.

But let us ask ourselves: (1) Was the rite of circumcision borrowed by the Hebrews from other nations which had practiced it for many centuries and adopted in order to secure a more perfect condition of health? Or was it not rather a religious symbol representing that which was most holy, and thus in striking contrast with the pagan and licentious purpose which it had hitherto subserved? (2) If the distinction between clean and unclean animals was chiefly hygienic, how shall we explain the fact that animals eaten by other nations with impunity were regarded by Israel as unclean? And further, what may be said with reference to the fact that while in detail the Hebrew classification differed from that of other nations, in general it was the same? Or (3) why was it that leprosy was selected from all other diseases, although it was not contagious, and why is chapter after chapter given to the regulations concerning this disease without a single reference to the prevention or cure of other diseases. (4) Why, if the purpose is a hygienic one, are not other issues considered besides those which are connected directly or indirectly with the origin of life?

THERE is granted the existence of the civil, sociological and hygienic elements in the Mosaic system. The question is, are these elements in any case so prominent, are they so distinct as to warrant us in saying that there is likewise a civil, a sociological, and a hygienic purpose in the system? That is to say, was the system organized and given to mankind not only to teach religion, but also to teach government, the principles of social science and the care of health; in other words, not only to teach *religion* but also to teach *science*? There may be a scientific element; indeed it is impossible to exclude such an element, but this is something different from assuming a scientific purpose. The question is a far reaching one. Grant that such a purpose

does exist, and it will be necessary to accept the necessary consequences of such an assumption, and to acknowledge that it was a particular purpose of the system to teach polygamy and slavery; to teach the care of health in respect to leprosy and in contact with the dead. What is the other position? Briefly stated it is this: that the Mosaic system was given by God to man simply and solely to teach religious truth. This will explain what is universally conceded, the overwhelming amount of the religious element. The presence of the other elements is easily understood in accordance with this theory. That rite which has been the symbol of all that is low and degrading is transformed and now represents all that is high and spiritual in religion. The people of Jehovah, who is a holy God, must also be holy. They must do nothing that will defile them. To do that which is forbidden is sinful, for of all sins the greatest is disobedience. The great disease to which man is subject is this same sin, gradually gaining control, loathsome in the extreme and destined in time to bring utter ruin. What better representation of the disease of sin than leprosy? The two mysteries in comparison with which all else is plain are the beginning of life and the end of life,—birth and death. No explanation of either of these has ever been found. In "forelife" as in "afterlife," God especially manifests himself. This is his particular province. Or perhaps it was thought that in birth and in death there was manifested the curse of God, pronounced in Eden. However we explain it in detail, it remains true that the purpose here as everywhere is a religious one.

It seems, therefore, that under the guidance of the spirit the framer of the Mosaic system had before his mind at all times a religious ideal. Nothing is introduced which does not point in this direction. Rites and ceremonies known to other nations are adopted by him to serve this purpose. The most common events of life are arranged in order to carry out this purpose. It is religion everywhere, science nowhere. He deals with that which is fundamental and everlasting, which had always been

true, and should always remain true; while other elements which are always changing appear as incidental only. The policy of the author of the system was a religious policy. Is there here a practical lesson? If so, it is this: Keep religious truth to the forefront; make it prominent. That which is secular cannot be permanent. Why lay such stress upon it? The Mosaic system is a model for all systems.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

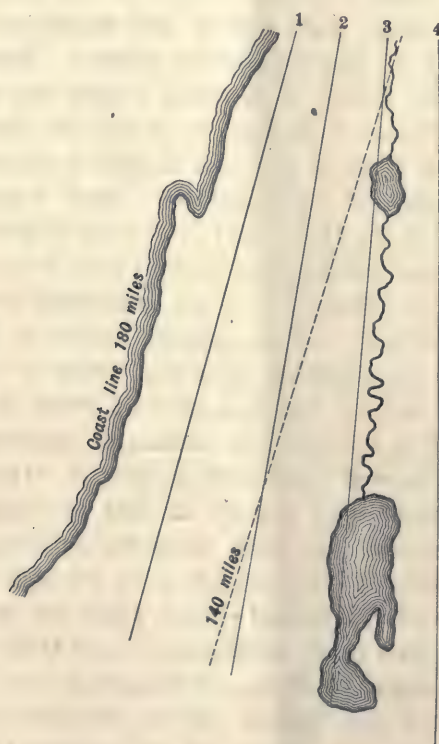
By PROFESSOR J. S. RIGGS,
Auburn Theological Seminary.

I. THE LAND AS A WHOLE.

Purpose and scope of these studies.—General physical divisions of the land.—The different sections described.—Beauty of the maritime plains.—The mountain wall, its historical and physical features.

One of the marked characteristics of our Bible is that its contents are, in large part, history and biography. This fact makes its scenery of deep and lasting interest. While the chief purpose of all the record is spiritual, it adds not a little to the vividness of the lesson to be able to realize its material setting and estimate the force of physical as well as political environment upon national or individual life. Paul Veronese's great picture of "Jesus in the House of Levi," with its group of Italian faces and its palatial setting, may honor Christ, but, except in the honor it gives the Master, it is an untruthful representation. Sober study of history and geography serves to check wrong idealizations and put emphasis upon that which is really worthy and exalted. It will be our aim, then, in these studies, to get before us, as well as we may, the picture of ancient Palestine as it was when our blessed Lord looked upon it. Geography possesses an advantage over history in that all that touches the physical side remains, in great measure, unchanged. A ride today over the hills of Judea reveals to us the same general outline of hill and valley, lake and stream, plain and desert. Never before could we look more intelligently upon these in the study of that which pertains to Historical Geography, for its problems have had and are still having careful scientific investigation. That we may include in our picture the results of this work we have divided the studies as follows: (1) The land as a whole; (2) Judea; (3) Jerusalem; (4) The Jordan valley and the Perea; (5) Samaria; (6) Galilee.

It is well to remember that much of the depiction of the land of Palestine given in the Old Testament is heightened by contrast with the land of Egypt. The Nile makes Egypt, and on either side of the strip of green that marks the reach of the fertilizing waters, stretch the solemn, desolate wastes of the desert. Over against the monotony of this level of life, bounded on both sides by death, stands the striking mountain scenery of Judea and Galilee; the beauties of the Shephelah and the plains, the singular features of the Jordan valley and the highlands beyond. If we should draw a rough outline map of the land like this below, it could be naturally divided into four parts,



which are indicated by the numbered lines drawn down the map. These correspond in order to the following physical characteristics: (1) The maritime plains; (2) The mountain district;

(3) The Jordan valley ; (4) The highlands on the other side of the Jordan.

In order to get a clear conception of the land as a whole, let us look at the general character of each of these. The outline of Palestine is that of a truncated triangle—the upper part being cut off. From its northern line to its southern the distance is about 140 miles, and at its widest part in the south it is not more than 50 miles wide ; the coast line is about 180 miles long.

Supposing our landing place Joppa, we should find ourselves, as we leave the beautiful orange groves at the back of the city, entering upon a broad plain, undulating in its surface and at such a level above the sea that its gently rolling hills reach a height of 200, sometimes of about 300 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. At the town of Ramleh in the part of this plain called the plain of Sharon, there is a high tower standing, the remnant of a crusader church. Ascending this, one has a wide prospect over the whole plain from the slopes of Carmel on the north to the regions of Gaza on the south. This long reach, so significant in the varied history of the land as the highway of armies from the south and from the north, is divided into three parts—that along the front of Carmel extending to the Crocodile river ; the plain of Sharon, eight to twelve miles wide and forty-four long, extending to a line just below Ramleh ; the plain of the Philistines reaching on south to the river of Egypt. There is no more pleasing view in Palestine, except over the plain of Esdraelon. The greensward in the springtime abounds in flowers and the husbandman is busy preparing its productive soil for the harvest. Lydda is not far away amid its olive groves. Many sites of ancient towns can be pointed out toward the north and east. Toward the distant southern horizon one can discern the region of the Philistine cities Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron, of which the site of Gath is alone uncertain.* With the view of the distant mountains of Judah and Ephraim constantly before one, the journey over this plain to Jerusalem makes a delightful introduction to the scenes of the Holy Land. Gradually the plain slopes upward as it reaches inward from the sea till it meets the

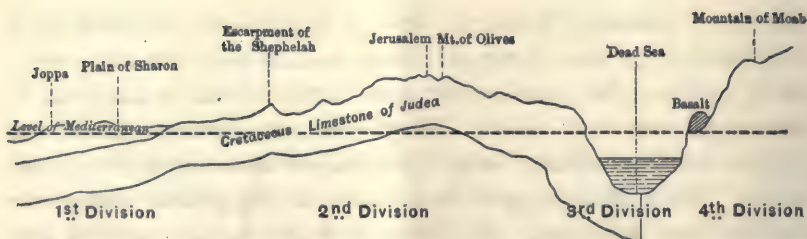
Shephelah or low hills that stand before the mountains themselves. Sometimes this term is given to the whole region between the high mountains and the sea. The word is translated "plain" in the Septuagint. In the restricted use of the term it marks those hills of limestone which present, as Dawson says of them, "low ridges not more than about 500 feet in height, with gentle slopes to the westward and more abrupt escarpments to the east." They are cut with valleys and have played a deeply interesting part in the history of the land. The Rev. Geo. A. Smith calls attention to the fact that above the valley of Aijalon these foot-hills occupy a different relative position to the mountains near them, and that the name Shephelah did not probably extend above the valley. Below this famous valley the hills are, so to speak, more independent of the mountains. "Altogether it is a rough, happy land, with its glens and moors, its mingled brushwood and barley fields; frequently under cultivation, but for the most part broken and thirsty, with few wells and many hiding places; just the home for strong bordermen like Samson, and just the theatre for that guerilla warfare varied occasionally by pitched battles, which Israel and Philistia, the Maccabees and Syrians, and Saladin and Richard waged with each other."

Right before us now in our journey across the land is that mountain wall which extends with but one break through the whole length of the land. Up and up the road mounts, with turns here and there that give the traveler views over all the maritime plain and far out at sea, till we reach the ridge which at the Mount of Olives is 2,600 feet above the sea; on Neby Samwil or Mizpah 2,800 feet; on the ridge of Hebron 3,000 feet. These limestone mountains, which do not always reveal their own great height since the valleys are also elevated, are cut in every direction by water-courses or separated by broader spaces which are utilized for farming or for olive-groves. The barren rocks, with their denuded surfaces exposed to the sun and rain, are disappointing indeed. It is hard to realize when one first sees them that they have been the witnesses of some of the most telling events of history. But amid them stood Jerusalem, Bethel,

Shechem, Samaria, Nazareth, and it is pleasant to think that they were once more attractive than now, as they certainly were when a respectable government gave both inspiration and protection to all kinds of thrift. They were the strongholds of the people, and have always been spared much that came to the plains below. With their rugged faces and varying phases Christ was familiar from boyhood. In places now the scenery is wild and forbidding; again it is softened and beautified, as the diligence of the inhabitants has covered the rocks with olive-groves or the valleys with grain. When we come to consider more closely, the divisions of the country we can stop to mark definitely some of these features.

Standing upon the Mount of Olives, one can see, in the distance, far below him, the blue waters of the Dead Sea. As we go over the brow of the mountain toward Bethany we begin that steep descent which is to bring us to the third natural division of the land—the Jordan valley. The way from Jerusalem to Jericho, in this valley, is certainly “down.” One descends over 3,800 feet to the level of the inland sea, and so sharp is the change that in the valley we are in the region of the Palm tree and of all tropical fruits. The broad plain of the Jordan must once have been full of beauty, and the river, insignificant in itself but exalted in its associations, yet pours its turbulent waters into the Salt Sea. The cleft (we shall study it later) down which the river comes from its sources at Banias and Dan has its greatest depth and width near the head of the Dead Sea, but all the way up, beyond the Sea of Galilee, it cuts the land into two distinct parts and in itself forms a notable feature of Palestine. The modern name for this lower, broader part of this cleft is “The Ghor.” It is rich in biblical associations and well deserves separate study.

“On the other side of Jordan” the mountains again go up to heights which exceed those in western Palestine and the plateaus of the northern section of eastern Palestine are marked for their fertility. The accompanying scheme taken from a geological study of the land will give some idea of the way over which we have come.



If one looks at this central ridge as it runs north and south through the land, it will have this general outline:



This outline gives the ridge to the beginning of the mountains of upper Galilee.

On this high level took place most of the scenes of the Gospels. It is the region of the most eventful facts of our sacred history. This mountain line is broken only by the plain of Esdraelon—a beautiful tract in lower Galilee. We will notice its position and worth when we study Galilee. Several things are of interest regarding this singular land which is thus divided. Let me briefly call attention to one or two:

I. Its comparative isolation. The long coast line below Carmel has no natural harbor. As has been said, “the land seems to say to the sea, I have no need of thee.” What harbors have been attempted have been all destroyed. It is no comfortable matter to land today at Joppa unless the sea is very smooth. On the south stretches the great desert which reaches to the boundary of Egypt. Forced marches across this brought armies to an open door to the land on the south, and this has been one of the chief entrances, but the desert had to be crossed. On the east is the great Syrian desert, which is an effective barrier. While the plane of Esdraelon has opened a highway connecting with the road to Damascus, yet the mountains rising on either side from the plain have been the barriers again. The long range of limestone hills has not always been free from

trouble, yet this has oftener come from the people within its borders than from outsiders. Another matter of interest is:

II. The variety of scenery and climate—mountain, plain, valley, gorge, desert, river, torrent, lake, sea,—every variety of physical configuration is here. From the heights of Judea one can see the snowy summits of Hermon, on whose sides are found the phenomena of an arctic clime. Within sight in another direction is the tropical valley of the Jordan. Jerusalem itself is no stranger to snow-storms, and yet gathers from its hill-slopes the fig, olive, and pomegranate. Indeed, within the time of a single journey through the land one may have many of the features of a tropical, temperate, or arctic clime. How much this variety has added to the beauty and power of the Scriptures we all know. It has made it, even on the side of its physical environment, a book for the world.

THE VALUE AND DANGER OF THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

By The REVEREND FRANK N. RIALE, PH.D.,
Independence, Iowa.

The value of the study of Comparative Religion lies in its giving a more perfect understanding of Christianity's relation to the other faiths.—Also light thrown on the early beliefs of the Hebrews and their modifications.—Its aid in foreign mission work.—Danger in it when taken up by an unprepared student.—When studied from the intellectual point of view alone.—When imperfect analogies are pressed.—Danger of a loss of spiritual energy.

Because "comparisons are odious," many think that Comparative Religion is the devil's chapel set up alongside the temple of gospel truth. But this is only a first impression, which soon gives way to the second and more sober thought. It is the new science that has come to stay—come not to sojourn, but abide for evermore. Although yesterday little larger than a man's hand, it today has the promise of eclipsing all the rest, and again making theology the "queen of the sciences," though in a far grander sense than the scholastic ever thought. College after college is founding a chair for it; while theological seminaries everywhere are rapidly giving it a place in the requirements of the course. But just because it is so big with promise when used aright, is it freighted with the greatest danger when used amiss. For this reason we should be keenly alert from the outset as to both the value and danger of the study upon a living and active Christian belief.

Perhaps the first and greatest value to be derived from the new science is a more perfect understanding of the relation of Christianity to the world's other faiths. No longer can we feel that Christianity came entirely to us as the Palladium to the Greeks or the Stone of Scone to the Scots—dropped down from the skies by some of the angels of paradise.

There is a natural as well as a supernatural side to the religion of Jesus, just as truly as there is a human as well as a divine side to the person of the blessed Christ. Comparative religion aims to more perfectly understand this first factor, which hitherto has been enshrouded with so much darkness and practically felt to be unimportant truth. But in this age, when everything is thought of in terms of life, we feel there must be some vital relation between the religion of Jesus and other faiths, just as surely as it is now so clearly seen that man is most vitally related to the various forms of life about him. What this consists of is the great question that every earnest seeker after the whole truth asks, and will not rest till he find a greater freedom in a larger belief than we now possess.

Hitherto we have left this rich vein of truth to be worked almost entirely by those who could not by the power of the Holy Spirit call Jesus the son of the Highest; and the results have often failed to meet the demands of an earnest Christian heart. Is it not time that the evangelical workers of Christendom should try more fully to understand the natural as well as the supernatural side of the universal faith, for we need to understand it fully as much as, if not more than, the humanity of Jesus Christ.

The first great value then of Comparative Religion seems to be that it enables us better to understand how God was at work, through all and in all human hearts, working according to His own good pleasure, till He brought forth, in the fullness of time, the one that should be the express image of Himself—the Immanuel, God with us. Thus we will more clearly see how that out of the womb of time the Messiah came to save us from our lost estate.

Another great value of the study lies in the marvelous flood of light it throws on the early Old Testament beliefs that lie at the basis of the Christian faith and the subsequent dogmatic and ecclesiastical structures that the Christian centuries have reared upon it. Every one who heard Madam von Finkelstein, that maid of the desert, the daughter of a Bedouin sheikh, will recall with the greatest delight the new meaning that was put on portions of the Old Testament by the side-lights which her picturing

of the oriental desert life gave us. Mr. Trumbull's most excellent little volume on the "Blood Covenant" is another most valuable contribution of the same sort. But these are but faint prophetic voices crying in the wilderness, heralding the purpose and work of the coming science that is destined to throw such worlds of light upon many of the dark mysteries that lie at the foundations of the Christian belief. It is to give a histology to the facts of Bible theology, as essential for the welfare of the spiritual life as that same study is in the keeping of our bodily health. Such study has already thrown much light on that all important fact of the atonement. The work as it goes on may sometimes change our theories of the great pivotal facts of a living faith, and doubtless will, but it will be a change always to end in a deepening of the abiding presence of the only source of eternal life. The Sun of righteousness will not be dimmed by our change of conception of Him, any more than the sun of the heavens by the change in the scientific theories of solar heat. On the other hand, Christ's light will be more real to us, for with a deepening of the understanding there will always come a better application of him to the needs of daily life.

Above all else, Comparative Religion will be a most valuable aid to the foreign mission work. Dr. Kellogg once said to me that one of the most lamentable things he had to contend with in the India work was the failure of so many who came upon the field to comprehend and appreciate the masterly mind of the educated Hindu and the subtlety and intricacy of the Orient's best thought. For this very reason the missionary often failed to command the respect of the very ones that he hoped most to reach. Surely if Christianity is a warfare, we ought to know something of the strategic position, military equipment and commanding ability of those we are fighting against, and know it before we are drawn up for the fight. It is a sad fact that too much of our mission work has been a reckless wasting of money and most valuable lives simply because we have neglected this pre-requisite for the field work. We certainly can best reach the hearts of those we would win to Christ by first putting ourselves in their places, and so know from actual experience the

"Achilles' heel" and vulnerable points of the faiths that make them faithless. By re-thinking their thoughts can we most easily find where is the aching void of their religion that only Christ can fill. Thus can we find in their heart-music the lost chord that only the song of redeeming love can give. This is the way Paul preached the unsearchable riches on Mars Hill, in his mission to the cultured of the earth. The "Unknown God" was the only vulnerable point of the Greek faith, and the only open door by which Christianity could enter the Greek heart.

The dangers attending this study are as great as its benefits, hence the greatest caution should be ever used by all who take it up. Perhaps the foremost danger is the use of the science in the hands of a novice. Comparative Religion deals with the most important and most vital of all facts of the human life, that of the human heart. If Paul was right in thinking the practical preaching of the gospel truth should not be undertaken by those untried in the faith, and the Christian church is right in feeling that the most thorough preparation of mind as well as heart should be ever the requisites of those who are to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ; surely it does seem that long and most faithful work should ever be the *sine qua non* of all those seeking to solve scientifically the religious problems of the race. He who uses the scalpel in spiritual surgery must not be one of untried nerves and without experience, especially when it comes to cutting so near to the vital centers of our mysterious being. The hasty practical conclusions from half-truths in this science have brought to an untimely end many a promising young life that was devoted to the service of Christ.

Another danger is in making the study a purely intellectual science. The head alone can never solve the great problem of religion; indeed the prime requisites for this are not qualities of mind but of the heart. He who would handle holy things, must do so with clean hands and a pure heart; for only such can see God as he reveals himself in the religious life. Perhaps nothing has brought this new science so into disrepute in some religious quarters, as simply the fact that the most prominent workers

have seemed to feel that the only requirement for it was an intellectual equipment. The French have taken the greatest strides in the new field, and almost without exception the spiritual factor has been left out of the equation of their work, hence the results have been such as to be almost shocking to evangelical truth. Though they have killed the hen, they are as far as ever from revealing the secret of the golden egg.

Another great danger is in following wrong or imperfect analogies in our search for the truth. They say a man is known by the company he keeps; but in all spiritual investigations one's very heart-life depends on the analogy he "works." No analogy, however good, as the Greeks say, walks on all four feet, hence we cannot be too careful about not using the "fourth foot." Spinoza with all his brilliant coterie of followers, on both sides the sea, were lost in the great Black Forests of religious doubt, largely because they pressed a good analogy at its weakest point. The rapid advance in mathematical study seemed to them to make mathematical formulæ so well illustrate many of the relations of the Almighty to the world about that they seemed to think that it could be pressed at every point, hence came the direful results of the Pantheistic unbelief.

Our fair nation nearly lost its life a score and a half years ago, simply because the North and South used different analogies to represent the civil life, each pressing its own to the bitter end that brought on the mighty strife. Most of the fierce conflicts that Comparative Religion has brought about in Christian apologetics have been largely due to pressing analogies between the physical and spiritual life, just at those points where they failed to illustrate, and hence should not be pressed.

The last danger that I wish to refer to, is the loss of spiritual energy that is liable to come to the workers in this field of research.

This is almost a universal experience, at first, to all who take up the work. We are so carried away by the study of the wonderful mechanism of the world's religious life, that we lose, or forget to use, those means that hitherto have given the spiritual dynamic to life. Let us not forget that mechanism, though

everywhere essential, is everywhere subordinate to the energy that operates it. Though we have all the wisdom that the ages may bring forth as to the way God works upon human hearts, as he makes for righteousness: but have not the love within us by which he works, our science will have been our destruction, in place of the means of making us know him more perfectly, whom to know aright is eternal life.

These suggestions and cautions aim to be but a few finger-boards and danger-signals to guide the feet of the seeker after truth in these new walks, and keep his feet from falling into those places in which so many have met their spiritual death. But in spite of its dangers let us welcome the new science, coming with such good news to us; for who knoweth but that it is sent "to the kingdom for such a time as this."

THE HEBREW STORIES OF THE DELUGE.¹ GENESIS VI-IX.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

The contents of the present article.—Some literary peculiarities of Genesis 6-9.—The proposed analysis of the material.—Objections to this analysis.—Considerations in opposition to the objections.—The arguments in favor of the theory of two accounts.—The linguistic and stylistic arguments in favor of the analysis.—An examination of the material.—The theological ideas of the narrators.—A summary of the narratives.—The details considered.

In the preceding article we considered the nature of the causes which, according to our writer, led to the deluge. The earth had become full of vileness; men had become utterly wicked. There was no hope of improvement for the race. The infamous conduct of angels and the terrific deeds of giants had made it necessary that a new order of things be introduced.

In the present article we shall attempt a very brief examination of the Hebrew material. This is no easy task in view of the large amount of the material—nearly four entire chapters, and its importance as being the second starting point of the world's history.

In the following article we shall undertake to examine the outside material bearing upon this subject, to make a comparison between this material and the Biblical material, and to furnish an estimate of the Biblical material in view of this comparison.

I. *A Critical Examination of the Biblical Material.*

¹The Literature: *Dods*, Genesis; *Kalisch*, Genesis; *Dillmann*, Die Genesis; *Delitzsch* (Franz), Genesis; *Lange*, Genesis; *The Pulpit Commentary*, Genesis; *Lenormant*, Beginnings of History, Chap. XVIII; *Schrader*, The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament; *Harper and Green*, The Pentateuchal Question, Genesis i-xii, Hebraica, Vol. V; *Ewald*, History of Israel, Vol. I; *Budde*, Die biblische Urgeschichte; *Geikie*, Hours with the Bible, Vol. I; Articles in Smith's Bible Dictionary, Brit. Encyc., on Deluge; Other articles and books will be found indicated in these references.

1. The result of the examination of Gen. 1-6 has shown that there are two distinct accounts: one containing a story of creation and a genealogical table; the other containing a story of creation, a story of the fall, a story of Cain and Abel, a genealogical table showing the origin of civilization, and a story of the Sons of God. Each of these accounts was found to show distinct linguistic usage, style, material, and theology. In this material complete stories were joined together by the writer.

2. One cannot read Genesis 6, 7, 8 and 9 without recognizing certain peculiarities. Some of these are the following:

1) The large element of repetition, as seen in the comparison of 7: 4 with 6: 17-18, 7: 2-3 with 6: 19-21, 7: 5 with 6: 22, 7: 23 with 7: 21-22.

2) The strange use of the names for God—Jehovah and Elohim (God). One section, *e.g.*, 6: 9-22, showing the word "Elohim;" another section showing the word "Jehovah." It is difficult to account for the interchange of these words. Attempts have been made to explain this interchange, but no attempt thus far seems to have been satisfactory. It can hardly be shown that the writer had a particular idea in mind which determined in either case his choice of the divine name.

3) The double representation concerning the animals, according to one of which they were to enter the ark two by two, according to the other seven by seven, see 6: 19-20, 7: 2-3, 7: 8-9.

4) The difficulty of explaining the dates of the passage. If the reader will begin with 7: 10 and note on a slip of paper through the seventh and eighth chapters all expressions containing dates, and then attempt to systematize them, he will appreciate the difficulty to which reference is made.

3. In explanation of these and many other difficulties it has been assumed by some that Gen. 6-9 contained two distinct accounts of the deluge joined together. The reader may acquaint himself with the details of the analysis by distinguishing in some way the following divisions:

1) To the priestly narrative is assigned 6: 9-22, 7: 6, 11, 13-16a, 18-21, 23b, 24; 8: 1, 2a, 3b-5, 13a, 14-19; 9: 1-17, 28, 29.

2) To the prophetic narrative (J) is assigned 6: 1-8; 7:1, 2, 3 (in part), 4, 5, 7 (in part), 8, 9 (in part), 10, 12, 16b, 17 (in part), 22 (in part), 23 (in part) 8: 2b, 3a, 6-12, 13b, 20-22; 9: 18, 19 (or R), 20-27 (see below).

3) Of the material assigned to J, 6: 1-4; 9: 20-27 are probably incorporated from another writer.

4) The editor who combined the accounts has introduced changes in 6: 4, 7; 7: 3, 9, 23; 9: 18, 19 (?).

5) Critics differ among themselves in reference to certain minor details.

4. At first sight such a division seems to be upon its very face absurd.

1) If such an analysis really exists, why was the world so long in discovering it?

2) Such patch-work is inconceivable because the author would be a fool to put together two accounts so different from each other, and also because in doing so he would be tampering with the original material.

3) "The divisive hypothesis is now getting into deeper waters, of which the narrative of the deluge is at once a symbol and an occasion. Hitherto it has been ostensible ground for partition in distinct sections, determined either by alternation of divine names or by change of subject or by both combined. Now this resource forsakes it, and it must venture on the open sea, destitute of chart or compass, and this is but a premonition of the reefs and shallows, cross-currents and whirlpools, fogs and storms, and every peril known to navigators, which must be encountered in its hazardous course."¹

4) It is based upon assumed evidence which a moment's examination shows to be wholly unworthy and insufficient.

5. There are, however, some considerations which offset this charge of absurdity.

1) It may be asked why the world has been so long discovering the large amount of truth which has first come to light in the present century. The fact that this analysis was not recognized in the past does not argue against its reality.

¹ Professor Green, *Hebraica*, Vol. V., No. 2.

2) Two things are to be considered as involved in such a combination of different accounts: (a) The author finds the two accounts. He does not wish to choose between them. In fact, he is not the author; he is the compiler. He gives us the original documents with some changes. This is just what we find in the stories of Saul and David and throughout the Books of Chronicles and Kings. (b) The supreme veneration for the sacredness of the text which is urged as an argument against such treatment of the text was, it must be remembered, something comparatively late. In the earlier periods no such regard for the letter of the text existed.

3) It would be more true to say that the analytical hypothesis instead of getting into deeper water, finds material through which it is able to vindicate itself.

4) There is absolutely nothing in this analysis for which there is not found analogy in other books. Here may be compared the duplicate Psalms, for example, the fourteenth and fifty-third; the parallel accounts in Samuel and Kings and in Chronicles.

5) It may fairly be urged that the evidence for this analysis is not assumed; it is gathered by legitimate methods from the text itself, and up to date has withstood every effort to explain it away.

2. *The Arguments in Favor of the Theory of Two Accounts.* The theory of the two accounts is based upon the fact that when the material has been divided, upon the basis of either language, style, contents, or theology, the division is found to be practically the same, and when thus divided there are found to exist two distinct stories, each complete, and each quite different from the other.

1) The priest-writer uses the word "God." Among other favorite expressions are: "in his generations," "all flesh," and "I, behold I!" The prophetic writer uses the word "Jehovah"; employs a different expression for the idea of establishing the covenant; uses "Man and his wife," even when speaking of animals, instead of "male and his mate"; refers constantly to the altar-service which the priest does not do previous to the Mosaic legislation, etc.

2) The style of the priest-writer is (*a*) systematic, as is seen in the five months of thirty days of increase of flood, the five months of decrease, the introductory phrase "these are the generations," etc.; (*b*) statistical, as seen in the calculation of Noah's age 7:6-11; 9:28-29; the notice of the kind of wood of which the ark was made, 6:14, its exact dimensions, its window, door, rooms, its three stories, the provision for food, the rigid classification in 6:18, the classes of animals in 6:20, the local phraseology in 9:4-6; (*c*) rigid, stereotyped, as seen in the many formulas employed, the prosaic command to Noah to leave the ark, 8:15-16, as compared with the poetic representation of the dove and raven, 13*b*, the lack of rhetorical perspective, the smallest detail receiving as much attention as the most important matter; (*d*) verbose and repetitious, as seen in the repetition of 5:32*b* by 6:10, 6:11 by 6:12. 8:8-17*b* as compared with 8:21-22, the phrase "all flesh," "I have established the covenant."

3) The style of the prophetic writer is (*a*) free and easy, as even a hasty perusal of the material indicates; (*b*) characterized by the introduction of outside pieces, *e. g.*, the story of Noah's drunkenness 9:20-24, the story of Noah's blessing and curse 9:25-27; (*c*) picturesque and poetical as seen in the use of poetical terms throughout; his introduction of the poetic as in the story of the dove and the raven; (*d*) anthropomorphic, since he represents Jehovah as repenting that he has created man at all, 6:7, as closing the door after Noah has entered the ark (7:16*b*), as smelling the sweet odor of the sacrifices (8:21), as repenting that he has wrought great destruction among men (8:22), as promising never to do so again (8:22).

4) In an examination of the material several points deserve consideration. Among others may be noted:

a) The large *duplication* of material, as is seen in the comparison of 6:5-8 with 6:9-22; 7:7, 10, 12, 16*b* with 7:6, 11, 13-16*a*; 7:22, 23 with 7:21; 8:2*b* and 3*a* with 8:2*a*, 3*b*; 8:13*b* with 8:13*a*-14; 8:20-22 with 9:1-17. This large element of duplication seems to furnish evidence of two distinct accounts.

b) The duration of the deluge, of which, if the material is divided in accordance with the data already indicated, there are found two calculations.

(a) ACCORDING TO J.

| | |
|--|---------------|
| 7:4, Yahweh speaks: yet 7 days and I will cause it to rain 40 days and 40 nights - - - - - | Announcement. |
| 7:10, after the 7 days the waters of the flood came - - - - - | 1st day. |
| 7:12, 8, 26, 3a, the rain was on the earth 40 days and 40 nights, and the rain was restrained and the waters returned from off the earth continually - - - - - | 40th day. |
| 8:6, at the end of 40 days,* Noah sent out a raven - - - - - | 80th day. |
| 8:8, (after waiting 7 days)† he sends a dove which returned - - - - - | 87th day. |
| 8:10, after another 7 days, he sends the dove again, and it returns at even, with an olive leaf, and he knows that the waters have diminished - - - - - | 94th day. |
| 8:12, 13b, he waits another 7 days, and sends forth the dove, takes off the covering and looks, and the ground is dry - - - - - | 101st day. |

(b) ACCORDING TO P.

| | Year | Month | Day |
|--|------|-------|-----|
| 7:6, 11, 13, in Noah's 600th year, 2d month and 17th day, on this selfsame day, the sluice-gates of heaven are broken up; on this selfsame day Noah and his family enter the ark - - - - - | 600 | 2 | 17 |
| 7:18-20, 24, the waters prevail 150 days (5 months) - - - - - | | 7 | 17 |
| 8:3, 4, at the end of the 150 days the waters begin to decrease and gradually diminish until the tops of the mountains are seen in the 10th month and 1st day (about 2½ months) - - - - - | | 10 | 1 |
| 8:13a, the waters have entirely disappeared - - - - - | 601 | 1 | 1 |
| 8:14, the earth is again dry (after nearly 2 months) - - - - - | 601 | 2 | 27 |
| Time, - - - - - | 1 | 0 | 10 |

This is a total of 12 lunar months, which with the 10 intercalary days, make a year of 365½ days.

c) The form of the ark which, according to one account, has a "window system," "light" all round it (and so can be opened); likewise a "door in the side"; while according to the other account there is a "window" which opens and shuts and a "cover," apparently on top.

d) Of the two accounts thus separated one makes no

* It is, of course, a question whether two periods of forty days are referred to in the text or only one, cf. Hupfeld, *Die Quellen der Genesis*, p. 135; Schrader, *Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der Biblischen Urgeschichte*, p. 152; Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 139.

† To be supplied in accordance with 8:10.

reference whatever to "clean" and "unclean." The other, however, makes the distinction, and directs the clean beasts to be taken seven by seven.

e) The General Conception. According to one account the deluge seems to be the result of an exceptionally long and heavy rain, local and limited; and at the end the waters run off and dry up. In the other account it is of a miraculous nature, and universal, reaching to the tops of the highest mountains which are under the heavens.

4) The Theological Ideas of the Narrative. Here again, if a division is made such as is indicated above, there will be found two quite distinct conceptions:

a) In the priestly account the representation of God is lofty and dignified. The only man who is to be saved is one who is perfect and blameless. There is nowhere reference to altars, sacrifices, clean and unclean. The destruction comes because of man's wickedness. The great purpose of the destruction is the establishment of the covenant and the revelation of divine law. Here is the second step corresponding to the covenant with Adam and the institution of the Sabbath, which have already been studied. In this account the supernatural is magnified and dignified; everything takes place in accordance with the direct and specific command of God.

b) In the prophetic narrative, on the other hand, the idea of God is not so lofty; the conception being more limited, and the whole narrative, full of anthropomorphisms. For instance, God repents that he has made man (6:6); the closing of the door of the ark (7:16 b); the satisfaction resulting from the "sweet smell" of the sacrifice, and the resolve not again to curse the ground (8:20-22). Here the relation of man to Jehovah is very close. In the introduction women are even accepted as wives by angels; Jehovah himself closes the door of the ark; the distinction between clean and unclean is marked; the references to the altar, the sacrifice of the clean, the burnt offering, are in direct conflict with the conception of the priest who understands that these things were first introduced in the time of Moses. Here, too, the heroes seem to act independently.

It is only proper to say that many think it possible to avoid the difficulties that are here presented. It is, for example, maintained,

(a) That chap. 6:5-8 belong to a section which closes with a statement of the divine determination to destroy man; while 6:9-13, called a "duplicate" upon the theory of the analysis, is necessary to introduce an entirely new section.

(b) The variation in divine names furnishes no criterion for distinguishing documents. Each word for divinity has a significant meaning. The change from Elohim to Jehovah in 7:1 is intended to show that God now appears as the covenant-God.

(c) In 7:16 the use of Elohim and Jehovah presents an evident contrast: Elohim giving command concerning the beasts; Jehovah, the covenant-God, ensuring the man's safety by closing the ark.

(d) With respect to the alleged discrepancy in reference to the number of animals it should be noted that when the command was first given one hundred and twenty years before the catastrophe, the number indicated was a general one; when the time for action arrives an additional detail is given, viz., that of the few clean beasts seven should be taken.

(e) The repeated statements, concerning the entering in of the ark (7:5, 13, 15), only lend vividness to the narrative and heighten its dramatic effect.

An examination of these representations will show that in most cases they are untenable.

III. We may now go a step farther, and endeavor to present in condensed form the substance of each account.

1. *The Priest's account:* Noah in his time was a most pious man; all flesh was corrupt. God reveals to Noah that he will destroy the earth by a flood, and commands him to build an ark in which he shall take his wife, his three sons, their wives, a pair of every kind of animals in order to preserve life upon the earth. In Noah's 600th year the deluge comes, in part from the subterranean depths, in part from the windows of heaven. He enters the ark with his family and the animals. The water increases; the ark swims; it reaches a height of 15 cubits above

the highest mountains; everything upon land perishes; for 150 days the water increases. Then the subterranean sources are restrained, the windows of heaven are closed, and after the 150 days the water begins to subside. On the 17th day of the 7th month the ark rests upon the mountains of Ararat. On the 1st of the 10th month the tops of the mountains are seen. In the 601st year, 1st month, 1st day of the month, the water has subsided; on the 27th day of the 2d month the earth is dry. Noah leaves the ark. God blesses Noah (cf. 1:28), appoints him lord over the beasts of the earth, and authorizes him to eat flesh; but forbids the eating of blood, and warns against the slaying of men. God makes a covenant; promises that there shall not be another deluge, and gives the rainbow as a sign of the covenant. The covenant is the *goal* of the whole story.

2. *The Prophet's account:* (The announcement to Noah of a deluge, of a command to build the ark is omitted.) Jehovah calls Noah and his family to enter the ark, together with animals, the clean by sevens, the unclean by twos, because within seven days he will bring a forty-day rain upon the earth to destroy all life; Noah obeys. After seven days, the rain begins; it falls forty days and forty nights. Jehovah closes up Noah in the ark. In the forty days the ark rises above the earth. All living beings except Noah perish. Then the rain stops; Noah opens the window of the ark and sends a bird to ascertain the condition of the water, first a raven, then a dove, and seven days later the dove again, who this time brings an olive leaf; then, after another seven days, the dove is sent but does not return. Then he takes off the covering of the ark and finds that the earth is dry. (The statement concerning the departure from the ark is also omitted.) Having left the ark, he builds an altar, offers of the clean animals and fowls an offering to Jehovah, who accepts it and declares that, in view of the fact that man's heart is evil from his youth, he will not again interfere with nature's order and laws.

IV. *The Contents in Detail of the Deluge Stories.*

1) *Noah and his Age, 6:9-12.* Noah is represented as a just man, relatively upright; a righteous man in contrast with his

contemporaries. He is one who, like Enoch, walks with God. His times are corrupt and full of violence.

2) *The Announcement of the Deluge.* The end of all flesh is decreed. Because of the violence which man is doing in the earth, God will destroy him. One family, however, will be saved, and to secure this deliverance instructions are given for the building of an ark (6:14-16). The ark is not a ship, for there are no sails or oars; it is a chest, and is intended to float. It is to be of cypress or gopher wood, a material hard and durable; it is to be five times longer and twice broader than Solomon's temple. The inside arrangement for light is not clear. According to Delitzsch "a window extended along every side of the ark downwards under the roof, and the opening for light ran around the ark, only interrupted by the rafters of the roof, at the height of a cubit." There are three stories or cells. The directions are explicit as to who and what shall be saved: Noah and his family, a pair of every living thing, and the necessary provisions. It is impossible not to ask one's self how an ark of the size described could contain two of every living being of all flesh, including fowl, cattle, creeper, and seven of every clean beast. When it is remembered that the species of mammals are numbered by the hundreds, the different kinds of birds by the thousands, reptiles and insects by the tens of thousands; when calculation is made for the food of various kinds, including animals required, and for the attendants who should prepare this food and take care of the animals which were to serve as food,—one may well doubt whether it was really the purpose of the writer to express the thought which has been commonly taken from his words.

3) *The Coming of the Deluge.* In Noah's 600th year, at the beginning of the year, he is commanded to enter the ark, and the deluge comes. After the entrance the door is closed by Jehovah himself.

4) *The Extent and Duration of the Deluge.*—For a presentation of the argument which shows conclusively that the deluge was not universal, the reader is referred to the article in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, which is easy of access. No commentator of

repute who has written within twenty-five years would for a moment endeavor to teach a universal deluge. The strong language of the writer, for example, "every beast," "every living thing," "every fowl," "all the high mountains under the whole heavens were covered," "fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail, and the mountains were covered," "all flesh," etc. (7:21-23) are explained by some as oriental hyperbole, by others as indicating the writer's own opinion that the deluge was universal. The table on page 25 presents a statement of the narratives concerning the duration of the deluge and the explanation of these statements will turn upon one's decision as to the single or double account.

5) *The Exit from the Ark*.—The place of the stranding of the ark is in the district of Ararat. The condition of things is discovered by sending out birds. The similarity of the Assyrian account is here very striking. When it has at last been discovered that the deluge has subsided, the command is given (8:15-17) to leave the ark, and the departure takes place (vs. 18, 19).

6) *The Covenant*.—This is the climax in the priestly narrative. An altar is built, clean animals are taken and offered as burnt offerings. Jehovah smells the odor of pacification and promises not again to inflict such a curse upon the ground for man's sake. "The order of the world shall not again be so completely interrupted. Man's imagination is evil from his youth; perfect conduct cannot be expected from him. Whoever sins is to be visited with immediate destruction, and the world can go on." Then follows the blessing of Noah in the familiar phraseology of Gen. 1:22. The original covenant is renewed, and the entire world is placed for the second time in subjection to man. In connection with this covenant permission is given to eat flesh. If flesh has been eaten before it has been eaten without divine warrant. But a limitation is established: flesh with its life, its blood, shall not be eaten. The law of emphasis also is placed upon the value of man's life by the establishment of the law for murder, and in connection with all this the covenant is entered into. A sign is given, viz., the rainbow. It is interesting to compare the rainbow among other nations. It will be remembered that it was the

path which Iris traveled from heaven to earth; a sign, according to Homer, of war or icy winter; a weapon, according to the Hindus, in the hands of Indra who hurled darts upon impious giants; an indication among the Chinese of troubles and calamities; a bridge among the Scandinavians to unite heaven and earth. Had the rainbow existed beforehand? Yes. What significance is attached to it in this connection? "It is a reminder of God's merciful promise never to destroy again earth's inhabitants." "Shining upon a dark ground which just before broke forth in lightning, it represents the power of the light of love over the fiery darkness;" "originating from an effect of the sun upon a dark cloud, it typifies the willingness of the heavenly to pervade the earthly;" "stretched between heaven and earth it is a bond of peace between both, and spanning the horizon it points to the all-embracing universality of the divine mercy."

For lack of space we must omit the consideration of the later history of Noah, which would include (1) the introduction of the vine and Noah's disgrace (9: 18-22); (2) the prediction of Noah concerning his sons (9: 24-38).

The reader will remember that the next paper will contain (after a brief presentation of the deluge stories of other nations, and a comparison of these with the Hebrew stories) an estimate, from various points of view, of the biblical narrative.

THE ISRAELITE VIEW OF PATRIOTISM.

By PROFESSOR JOHN POUCHER,
De Pauw University, Greencastle, Md.

The fact stated.—Causes.—The purpose of the prophetic office.—The political platform.—The fundamental idea of patriotism.—Its practical applications.—It furnished the strongest incentives for loyalty.—It offers the most exalted ideal.

Love of race and country, as one of the most commendable virtues, was highly cultivated among the children of Israel. Rarely is there found a more intense patriotism than that which finds expression in the 137th Psalm in which the poet swears complete devotion to native land until all his organs may cease their function, and vows unmeasured and mortal hostility to his country's oppressors and enemies. Even the Christianized Saul of Tarsus, liberalized by contact with Greek culture and enjoying the enviable prerogatives of Roman citizenship, could wish that he himself were *anathema* from Christ for his brethren's sake, his kinsmen according to the flesh. The skillful author of the Epistle to the Hebrews knew full well what instances to quote in order to arouse the waning enthusiasm of Jewish converts to something of that ardor which burned in the breast of every descendant of Jacob. What a glowing category of patriots is that which included Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, Samuel, David, the prophets, the Maccabees and others whose inspiring impulse was the same faith that constitutes the essence of vital Christianity. In all periods of sacred history the most extravagant notions of Israelitish supremacy had been constantly encouraged and entertained, so that exclusiveness and bigotry were not confined to the religious views of the chosen people, but were equally prominent in their international relations.

The seeds of Messianic doctrine concerning the kingdom of God were sown on soil well prepared to germinate and produce

a spirit of unswerving fealty to Christ the Great Head of the Church.

Numerous causes contributed to this state of affairs. A peculiar people are sure to be antagonized and persecuted, and the opposition of others by reflex influence would intensify their own national spirit. Their unique form of religion, thoroughly interwoven with the business of secular and civil life, admitting of no compromise with the idolatries of their neighbors, depended for its maintenance on the cultivation of race patriotism. Their traditions tended to foster and expand the sentiment of attachment to locality which they firmly believed had been indicated by Jehovah himself. The purchase of Machpelah and the burial there of the early ancestry at some inconvenience would have the same effect as the preaching of Peter the Hermit and others for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracens. The centralization of worship at Jerusalem or Bethel appealed to the most invincible of all motives in the struggle to defend or regain the hallowed localities. Tribal ownership of estate which under no circumstances was to be forfeited, except for treason, and depending for its perpetuation on religious fidelity, has fixed for centuries an ineradicable desire to dwell again in the Holy Land. Circumcision, operating to distinguish the people from the heathen and to restrict the numbers of population, set them off as a race and made it absolutely necessary for them to work together.

During the heroic periods of the nation's history, both in the northern and in the southern kingdoms, the office of prophet was distinctively exercised to train the people in the principles of pure patriotism. These holding the divine commission claimed to be lovers of country, and their professed purpose in every effort for reform was the welfare of the body politic. They seemed to conceive no other idea than that the solution of the problem in regard to their own and all the earth's material ills would be found in the establishment of Israelitish rule.

Further, their ideal of the nation was that it existed for the benefit of its citizens and not for its own glorification, and so, if the general government was upheld, the individual would be

happy, and conversely, if each Israelite was loyal the community would be prosperous. In very many cases their message was addressed to the rulers in church or state, largely because, then as in later times, history seemed to be chiefly occupied with the doings of public functionaries rather than with the detail of unconventional life. It is not in the province of this article so much to describe the method of the prophet's endeavor as to show that his office, which has been considered mostly ecclesiastical, was administered on an essentially patriotic basis. The evangelical spirit, in a limited form of course, was unmistakably displayed in many of their utterances, but if the redemption of the whole world, as we understand that work, ever entered their minds, they must have believed that it could be accomplished only by the extension of Hebrew authority. Indeed, the essential feature of Jewish Messianism, which owed so much of its development to prophetism, lay in the fact that the coming son of David was to be a benign ruler to the benefit and honor of all the faithful seed. If the Roman tribune was a defender of civic rights, much more was the Hebrew prophet.

On what platform did this representative of national politics stand? There are in every political party some basal principles which determine or affect its course with reference to current events. Very often it may seem as if the leaders of the organization are mere demagogues striving for victory alone without regard to sentiment, but it is not so with the mass of the people, who are led by intuitive preferences to identify themselves with one or another party because of certain general ideas which are sure to find expression in some form or other. Now and then the independent citizen may break off from those with whom he has been wont to train, but the majority of voters will ultimately array themselves, irrespective of minor details, with those who more nearly reflect the image of their political faith. Even the affairs of only temporal or local interest will take their coloring from the germinal thought. Jehovah's people were sharply divided into opposing factions, as is especially made apparent in the writings of Jeremiah. The prophets were known as leaders, and they were distinguished as true and false.

The term "false" was indeed a very harsh epithet to apply to a fellow-citizen; but it was no more severe than that which an extreme partisan of today will sometimes apply to his antagonist at the ballot-box. So sure is he that his own theory of government is correct and vital to public prosperity that he is tempted to regard the one who dissents as basely misguided and disloyal. Those who have contended for an issue which has been first defeated and afterwards has been proven to be such that, if it had been successful, it would have resulted in disaster and ruin, have sometimes been called traitorous when they were really nothing worse than blind to their own and their country's good. Among the Hebrews however the term "false" was justifiable because that class attempted to lead the king and his people into the worship of gods which the conscience instinctively denounced as false, and in the constitutional law of the nation such idolatry had been absolutely prohibited as treason against Jehovah, the ruler and savior of the people.

This leads to the statement that national loyalty consisted in faithful and unwavering worship of the true God. The spur to all civil policy was that the divine Judge approved and willed it. The secret of success in all public as well as private affairs was found in keeping the law of the Lord. If the people were defeated in battle, was it not because Jehovah of Sabaoth had refused to lead them, and had he not refused because he was displeased with either their personal or their official conduct? Some one had troubled Israel by violating the sacred ordinances. Religion was at the very foundation of their social organism. The original settlement had been made in obedience to the impulse of conscience, and in all subsequent affairs the children of Abraham had been providentially guided by a personal deity. Vain, therefore, would be any political theory that left Jehovah out of the count.

And here it must be borne in mind that in the period of highest prophetic ecstasy religion consisted in something more than devotion to the forms of worship. Isaiah, in his introductory chapter, unequivocally and emphatically declares that the service of Jehovah means vastly more than ritualistic observances,

which may come to be even an offense. This sublime vision-gazer, so closely related to the throne too, seems to grasp a view of piety as lofty and practical as that of the New Testament James, who furnishes a decisive and accepted definition of pure religion under the gospel. The contemporary Micah also emphasizes the superior importance of individual conduct and disposition in the discharge of loyalty to the national idea. Not thousands of rams and rivers of oil for sacrifice, but integrity, kindness, and faith were the valid conditions for the restoration and continuance of favor. The characteristic feature in the message of Amos was the assertion that the rights of an obscure or uninfluential but worthy citizen were sacred in the sight of the Lord, who would consign to bitter retribution or overthrow any people who disregarded the law of unswerving equity. The stern Samuel, who introduces the prophetic order, gave Saul to understand that by no ceremonial quibble could he absolve himself from the guilt of disobedience, and that, because he had been false to theocratic rule, he was summarily dismissed as an incompetent representative of the true government. Later writers, it must be allowed, made more prominent the necessity of ecclesiastical loyalty; but even if we admit that their ideal of patriotism had deteriorated, it must be remembered that their appeal for a better worship meant for them also a reformation of manners. With a more gorgeous temple and many more imposing sacrifices, worshipers would be constrained to cultivate a more intense love for all the people.

There could be no higher incentive for the administration of justice than that it was demanded by the expressed will of God as well as for the natural interests of those affected. Even in our civilized age it often happens that equity is sparingly and tardily granted to those who are without means or influence. When absolutism in government was rife there would be little hope for an oppressed subject, if there could be no appeal to a higher power than the reigning sovereign. Fortunately the Hebrew tribune of the plebs claimed his commission from the Divine Majesty, and the political doctrine which he professed demanded human rights on pain of forfeiting the only available

hope of the nation in calamity. Enthusiasm of any kind depends very much on leaders. The masses are not greatly interested in abstract principles, but will yell themselves hoarse for him who advocates their cause with ability and zeal. Thus Hebrew patriotism was much inspired because it rested on faith in Jehovah. His was the Eternal Name. Had he not appeared unto the fathers and delivered them in times of direst distress? Was he not equally the defender of their children? Was he not without exception the friend of every legal heir under the holy covenant? So the Psalms could be sung in both the temple and the battle-field with the assurance that, though all others fail, there is One who is invincible in every conflict. There was always one and the same objective point towards which the loyal heart could direct its longings. There was no time when the people were without a policy, for their life and prosperity at every moment was conditioned on devotion to their divine leader.

Such a patriotism was of a very exalted nature. It was liable to be narrow and uncompromising, but it resulted in maintaining the distinctive permanency of the race, and it set before the world the example of a nation whose religion was regarded as a practical and essential feature in its civil polity. The Jews have proven that the highest incentive for pure and beneficent politics is faith in a personal God who always rules in the affairs of men. It may not be desirable for any government to support an established ecclesiastical organization. Doubtless the unseemly attempt to propagate spiritual sentiment by material measures will soon be wholly abandoned, but it is well to consider that no people can long maintain an efficient autonomy without established religion.

JEROBOAM AND THE DISRUPTION.

By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, PH.D.,
The University of Chicago.

Progress of the Hebrew state suddenly arrested by the Disruption.—The division explicable in the light of ancient conditions.—Solomon, unlike David, alienated the Northern tribes by his policy.—Disruption favored by the prophets.—Their grounds.—Its consummation.—Its political and social effects upon the religious life and thought of the Hebrews.

The prestige of the name of David and his rare diplomatic skill had at last united the independent Hebrew clans, the military prowess of the king and of the men who gathered about him had completed the conquest of the neighboring nations, and a strong military organization had welded them all into a mighty empire. Solomon completed the work of his father by organizing the state internally, by building strong fortresses throughout the kingdom at strategic points, and by transforming the city of David into a magnificent capital, filled with palaces and defended by fortifications. The Hebrew nation was just entering upon a brilliant epoch of prosperity and culture-development and commanding influence, when, lo! the empire is suddenly disrupted, and the two kingdoms thus formed, mutually weakened, fall an easy prey a few centuries later to foreign conquerors. What were the causes of this fateful act of disruption, so weighted with far-reaching consequences?

A casual reader of Old Testament history might at once reply that it was due to the unwise course followed by Solomon's successor in his treatment of the Northern tribes. This, however, would present only the immediate cause—the spark which set off the accumulated mass of tinder. Traces of the real causes appear far back in the early annals of Hebrew history. As the fragmentary records of the Book of Judges at times turn the flash-light upon the Hebrew tribes contending for the posses-

sion of the soil of Canaan, or absorbing and assimilating the original inhabitants of the land, we find the Israelites, in the north and center, and the Judeans in the south, each fighting its own battle alone, and each grappling with its own individual problems. Gideon's kingdom does not appear to have extended farther south than the limits of Ephraim. The wars and the events recorded in the Book of Judges are chiefly those of the Northern tribes. Nowhere is there any indication (in the light of the oldest sources) that they were ever united, not even temporarily, to ward off the attack of a threatening enemy. Furthermore, a strong line of Canaanitish cities, of which Jebus was the chief, extended across the land of Canaan from east to west completely cutting off the Israelites of the north from their kinsmen of the south.

The Judeans also absorbed an unusually large Canaanitish element (including the Kenites and Calebites). This fact undoubtedly tended to neutralize the mutual attraction of common blood and religion. Thus the influence of the tendency to separate, which characterizes all Semitic tribes, was fostered by circumstances and the development of their early history.

Under the stress of a common and threatening danger (subjection to the Philistine yoke), all the tribes were driven for a brief period to unite about the standard of the Benjaminite Saul, and later to accept him as their king. If the support of the Judeans was at first strong and hearty, it began, however, to wane when their kinsman and favorite champion, David, was hunted from the court of the suspicious Saul. Although they did not openly revolt, yet the readiness with which they proceeded, after the battle of Gilboa, to elect their favorite to the throne of Judah, even though the Northern tribes remained faithful to the house of Saul, shows conclusively that their support of the Benjaminite king was far from enthusiastic. In fact, it cannot be proved that they were represented at the battle of Gilboa.

Throughout all early Hebrew history the Northern tribes, of which Ephraim and Manasseh were the acknowledged leaders, played the most important rôle and far surpassed Judah in influence and resources. Cropping out also even at this early period

appears that intense rivalry which later came so prominently to the front.

But the scion of the house of Saul, whom the Northern Israelites placed upon the throne, proved a weak reed to lean upon; while from without the victorious Philistines pressed them severely. Thus the might of the tribes of the North was terribly broken, and threatened to be completely crushed. At last the stroke of assassins cut down in quick succession both their trusted leader, Abner, and their king.

Meantime David had firmly established himself upon the throne of Judah. During the troublesome days which followed the death of Saul, and through the years of civil war, he had succeeded, with marvelous tact, in not alienating the Northern tribes. Now, even though he belonged to the rival tribe of Judah, the Northern Israelites turned to him as the only one who could deliver them from complete subjection under the hated Philistine yoke. In this they were not disappointed. Thus at last, for the first time in their history, the tribes were really united. On the one hand the pressure of impending danger, and on the other the presence of such a leader as David, supreme in military prowess and diplomatic skill, were the necessary elements which made the amalgamation possible. Continued success in war, and a policy which favored the Northern tribes even more than Judah, preserved the union. But even during the reign of David the ancient, fierce rivalry broke forth and threatened to sunder the state. This occurred immediately after the rebellion of Absalom had been quelled by the death of its leader. In his efforts to conciliate the Northern tribes, David unwittingly stirred up the jealousy of the Judeans. Evidently while endeavoring to appease them, he in turn incensed their old rivals of the North; for we find them in a mad revolt, which is only put down by Joab by force of arms. Thus the old bitter feeling of rivalry survived, and all the skill and power of a David was required to keep together the elements which mingled so illy.

Solomon, at the beginning of his reign, took good care to remove by the sword all persons who might prove seditious.

Perhaps he felt too secure after this act, since his later policy is famous for just those mistakes which his father had so carefully avoided. Certainly his wisdom did not enable him to make of his reign anything but a glittering failure. The cause of this is probably to be found in the aim which actuated him. In many ways he was the Louis XIV of Israel. The state was for the king, not the king for the state. In this he was only imitating the policy of the Oriental potentates of his day. Both his home and foreign policy was developed with the end in view of making his kingdom, and especially his capital, equal in magnificence those of the monarchs about him. Love of show and luxury were the ruling principles in his life. His end he attained. Later generations always looked back upon the reign of Solomon as the golden era of Israel's history. His contemporaries in other lands viewed it with undisguised admiration. But this success was purchased at a terrible cost. For a time, to be sure, his people were dazzled by the display. This was most natural, for a century before they were only rude nomads, just beginning to contend for the soil, and within the memory of some of them they had been ground down under the heel of the conqueror. But ere long the Northern tribes waked up to the bitter realization of the fact that all this glitter was not gold for them, and that the just policy of David no longer guided the throne. Northern Israelitish interests were made subservient to those of the king and of Judah. It was gall and bitterness to the Northerner to see the wealth and power of the kingdom constantly being concentrated in Jerusalem, which lay far south of the center of the kingdom. Further, the temple and all the splendid palaces and strong fortifications which beautified the capital were not built by the jinns at the command of Solomon, as later traditions would have it, but by the fruit of the increase and by the wearisome toil of his subjects. His wisdom was chiefly exercised in organizing the nation so as to secure for himself the greatest income. Israel was divided into twelve districts, over which were placed royal governors whose chief functions were to collect the royal revenues. These were rendered in the form of produce, which went to supply the huge court of Solo-

mon. In addition a great levy was raised, whereby the king was enabled to enlist in his enormous building enterprises, not only the despised Canaanites, but practically all of his able-bodied subjects. To thus reduce to serfdom a people, who a generation before had been free and independent, meant bitter rebellion. It is also most significant that the Judeans do not appear to have been included in this levy. Thus the policy of David was completely reversed. On *a priori* grounds we would have been safe in concluding that the Northern Israelites broke out into rebellion against these acts of tyranny so unprecedented in Hebrew annals. Many may have been the uprisings. History records but one. The leader of this was Jeroboam, one of the tribe of Ephraim, which had always stood as the recognized head of the Northern clans and the ancient rival of Judah. Apparently of humble origin, he had risen by virtue of his personal ability until he was appointed by Solomon as director of the levy of his tribe, who were occupied upon the fortification of Millo at Jerusalem. The insurrection was quelled, but Jeroboam escaped and took refuge in Egypt, where he appears to have been favorably received by Shishak, the head of the new dynasty which had just arisen and which did not recognize the alliance with Solomon which had been made by the Pharaoh of the former line.

In connection with the account of the rebellion of Jeroboam there is a suggestive notice (1 Kgs. 11: 29-39) to the effect that Jeroboam was informed by a prophet, Ahijah, previous to his rebellion, that he would become king over the ten tribes. Even though the narrative be late, it is of value as indicating the attitude of the prophets toward the policy and reign of Solomon. This is further confirmed by the reference in 1 Kgs. 12: 22-24 to the action of a certain man of God, named Shemaiah. When Rehoboam gathered together his forces to march against the Northern Israelites to reduce them to subjection to the house of David, this man of God appears before the king and proclaims that it is the will of Jehovah that they shall not go up and fight against their brethren. The narrative also adds that the Judeans listened to this message and desisted from their expedition.

These references are sufficient to indicate that the influence of at least the more zealous Jehovah-prophets was thrown on the side of the Northern Israelites, and that they favored rather than opposed the Disruption. Later prophets seem to regard it as a necessity. Hosea is the first to suggest that it was a mistake and displeasing to Jehovah. A careful study, on the one hand, of the reign of Solomon and of the tendencies which were then beginning to manifest themselves, and, on the other, of the character of these early men of God, reveals the cause of their attitude. Solomon's policy brought to the Hebrew nation the refining influences and the products of the civilization of that ancient world. Viewed from the political and social standpoint this represented a most desirable advance. Israel, which heretofore had been only a loose confederacy of rude, half-civilized tribes, had suddenly taken its place side by side with the other influential, cultured nations of that old Semitic world. Through the channels of conquest and commerce and alliance it was fast absorbing the art, culture and ideas of the surrounding peoples. In a generation or two more it would have been quite impossible to have distinguished it from its neighbors. If its character and mission was to be similar to that of the other nations of the world, all this certainly represented great progress. But if it had a mission, and that mission could be performed only as it preserved a unique individuality, this was not an altogether profitable line of development. Especially was this true as respects the religious evolution of the nation, for with foreign art and customs came foreign religions. According to the fundamental principles of a Semitic alliance, Solomon was obliged at least to acknowledge the gods of the allied peoples. Hence the crisis was more than a political one. It was also religious. The future of the faith of humanity hung in the balances. It was Solomon's policy of Orientalism *versus* the pure worship of Jehovah.

Probably the prophets did not fully appreciate the stupendous issues at stake, but they saw enough to lead them to act. Perhaps much of their opposition to the civilization of their time was unreasonable. They may with some degree of reason be termed zealots. They were the avowed champions of the ancient

and more spiritual worship of Jehovah, which had been most clearly enunciated by Moses; and hence they were the uncompromising opponents of anything which threatened to supplant or rival this. Thus we see why they were ready to welcome the disunion of the tribes as the last resort if thereby they might avert the awful danger which threatened the faith which they held dearer than the unity of their nation. Hence, before Rehoboam mounted the throne of his father, the deliberate purpose of the prophets, together with the ancient jealousy of the tribes, fomented by the injustice and grinding oppression of the policy of Solomon, had prepared the way for the subsequent act of Disruption.

A king with the commanding prestige and tact of David might have averted the catastrophe for a time. But Rehoboam, reared in the luxurious Oriental court of Solomon, possessed neither of these qualities.

The laws which determined the right of succession in Israel had evidently not as yet been definitely established. Saul and David had been duly chosen by the nation. Solomon had been nominated as his successor by the aged David and this had been ratified by the people. Thus it appears that the latter had always had an important voice in the election of their king. The Northern tribes, discontented with the heavy burdens and unjust partiality of Solomon's rule, refused to accept his son as their king until they were given certain assurances that these evils would be abated. Accordingly they meet at the old Northern capital, Shechem, whither Rehoboam goes to confer with them. The demands which they make are reasonable. It is probable that if the king had acceded to them the Disruption might even then have been averted. Ostensibly he acknowledges their justice, for he half yields in asking for three days in which to consider them. Graphically the author of Kings presents the counsels of the different factions in Rehoboam's camp. The grey-bearded courtiers, who had grown old in the service of his politic, worldly-wise father, appreciate the situation and urge a conciliatory policy—at least, until the present crisis is past. But the younger men, who like himself had grown up in the vitiated

court of Solomon, had only absorbed its Orientalism. Naturally he accepts their advice since they merely voice his feelings. Despotism shall win or lose the day. Therefore, at the end of the three days, when the representatives of the Northern tribes again assemble, confidently expecting a generous Magna Charta, a bomb is exploded in their midst. "Whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions" are the unmistakable words of the king. It instantly kindles into a fierce blaze all the suppressed jealousy and discontent which filled their hearts. The cry, "What portion have we in David? To your tents, O Israel," spreads like wild-fire from mouth to mouth throughout the assembly. The aged Adoram, who was at the head of the hated levy, is sent to treat with the Northern Israelites and is ruthlessly slain by them. It is forever too late for conciliation. The die is cast. Before Rehoboam has reached Jerusalem, whither he has fled for his life, king of but one tribe, Jeroboam, who in the earlier days had led the revolt against the tyranny of Solomon, and had now returned from his forced exile in Egypt, had been raised to the throne of Israel. The Judeans, who naturally refused to accept the choice of the majority of the tribes, they deem rebels.

In the division, the greater portion of the accumulated wealth and military resources of the preceding reigns fell into the hands of the Judeans. At first Rehoboam endeavored to win back by force of arms the kingdom of his father. But the invasion of the Egyptian king, Shishak, soon completely shattered his power, and ere long we find Judah obliged to assume the defensive against Northern Israel, to which fell the lion's share of the territory and natural resources of the old empire. Thus the ancient breach, again reopened, constantly widened until union was impossible.

The act of Disruption turned the future course of Hebrew history into entirely new channels. Its effects can be clearly traced in all the varying fortunes which subsequently came to the Jewish people. These may be briefly epitomized and classified as:

(1) *Political effects of the Disruption.* It is idle to conjecture what might have been had the integrity of the empire been preserved. But it is certain that the Disruption sapped the political strength of the Hebrew people so that their subsequent history is one of more or less steady decline. During the earlier days, war between the two kingdoms so far weakened both that the Syrians on the northeast were able, not only to attain independence, but also to build up a powerful state which proved an untiring enemy to Northern Israel. Throughout most of its history these protracted Syrian wars exhausted its strength, and at times reduced it to the direst extremities. Even the petty states about, like Moab and Edom, frequently made bold to revolt against Hebrew suzerainty. The civil history of Northern Israel is one of anarchy and bloodshed. The reigning family is frequently cut down, root and branch, by some military upstart who thus establishes his family on the throne, where they remain until they in turn share the same fate. Disintegration from within and attack from without followed in the train of the Disruption until in 722 B.C. the name of Northern Israel was forever erased from the rôle of nations.

During the century immediately following the separation, protected by its seclusion and insignificance, Judah enjoyed comparative quiet. But with the fall of Samaria it was projected into the direct current of the world's history. From this time on it figures chiefly as a vassal state, the bone of contention between the great world-powers. In 586 B.C. it is blotted out of existence by the Babylonians.

(2) *Social effects of the Disruption.* The mighty tide of foreign customs and civilization which came in during the reigns of David and Solomon was turned suddenly backward by the act of Disruption. Those elements which would attract this from without, the commanding influence and wealth of the old empire, had departed. The energies of the people were occupied in a death-struggle for national existence. Consequently for a few generations at least the social life tended to return to its primitive simplicity. The influence of Solomon's policy of exalting the court far above the mass of the nation was arrested, and

thereby greater equality among all classes was maintained, until, under such kings as Ahab of Israel, and Uzziah of Judah, the same old tendency toward Orientalism began to manifest itself. But even then, and throughout all the history of the kingdoms, the social development was moulded and confined within simpler lines by the influences which followed in the train of the Disruption.

(3) *Religious effects of the Disruption.* When Jeroboam found himself on the throne of Israel he was at once confronted by a problem: "What shall be the center of the religious life of the new kingdom?" His solution was doubtless considered by his contemporaries most clever and satisfactory. Instead of following the example of David and building a temple at his capital, which should be regarded as the national sanctuary, he chose two of the most ancient and venerable of the shrines of the land. At these places he set up two golden calves, the familiar symbols, in that age, of the power of Jehovah. Thus Dan and Bethel were designated by royal decree and provision as the chief sanctuaries of the nation. According to the narrative in Judges a descendant of the family of Levi had officiated at Dan from a very early day. For the further needs of the service at the shrines the king appointed other priests. In thus instituting the national worship, Jeroboam appears to have shocked none of the religious instincts of his day. Even the zealous prophets gave a silent assent to his act. The conservatives of the nation probably approved the return to the old sanctuaries. But, as it affected the cause of pure religion, it represented a sad retrogression, for it meant a return to the ancient cult of the land. Later prophets, like Hosea, clearly recognized the brood of evils which followed in its train, and point back to this act of Jeroboam as the cause of the subsequent apostasy and immorality which proved the undoing of Northern Israel.

The religious history of Judah during the first century is little more than a reflection of that of Northern Israel. The same waves of heathenism swept over both kingdoms. But the Disruption tended to focus the religious as well as the political life of Southern Israel more and more in Jerusalem, and thus pre-

pared the way for that centralization which became in the time of Josiah the most efficient check upon the tendency to retain certain elements of, and even revert to the ancient, Canaanitish cult. Judah also was much more secluded and protected by natural barriers from the influence of foreign invasion and civilization, than her Northern sister. Consequently, by virtue of her independence, in this little corner of the earth, it was possible for a national religious life and faith to take root, which survived and continued to unfold long after the fall of the Northern kingdom.

Looking broadly at Hebrew history, we can see that the earlier prophets did not make a mistake and that the evils of Solomon's reign and the jealousy of the tribes were made to fit into God's great plan of truth and beauty. In view of the weakness of Egypt and the inactivity of Assyria during the century following the death of Solomon, it is more than possible that, if the old empire had retained its integrity, it might have become a mighty world-power. But such political success would never have made the Hebrew nation a people with a peculiar mission to the world. It was only in the furnace of affliction that those perverse, insignificant Canaanitish tribes were prepared for the reception of their commission. Approaching captivity led their prophets to open wider their spiritual eyes until they beheld, instead of a local god of one little nation, a Lord supreme in the affairs of men and in the universe. Out of the depths of their private and national woe, those divinely enlightened men caught glimpses of the character of the Eternal and of His purposes which enabled them to rise above national annihilation and exile, and to give to their nation and the world hopes and truths and principles which are the eternal foundations of religious faith. Thus, while by the Disruption the Hebrew nation lost its life, in a truer and higher sense it found it, and was prepared in turn to transmit this life and hope to humanity.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE WESTCAR PAPYRUS.

By J. HUNT COOKE,
London.

A telescope which could give a glimpse into the past would be indeed a prize. As yet lenses are made only for distance in space; unhappily our opticians do not supply them for distance in time. If this long-felt want were met, for which however we discern very little hope, it would correct many a historical notion now accepted as unquestioned truth. In the meanwhile, the best substitute is an old manuscript, when one can be secured. In the year 1886 the Berlin Museum acquired a papyrus, in a somewhat shattered condition, from a certain Miss Westcar, an English lady. This was published at Berlin in 1890, edited by Dr. A. Erman. It has a high value not in being what is generally termed a historical record, that is to say, a list of kings and their battles, but in giving a collection of tales affording a glimpse at the prevalent thinking of the period when it was written. The age of the papyrus is almost certainly that of Moses, or perhaps a little earlier, a profoundly interesting and important era in the world's history. It was the time of the birth of the great Hebrew nation. It evidently was one of the flowering periods of literature. Every age is important, but this must have been of especial importance as a time when the formative powers of much of the thought of the ages since were germinated. Poetry traces its descent from Pentaur, and legislation from Moses. Into a period like this any glimpse, however imperfect, awakens our curiosity. The Westcar Papyrus has been battered not a little in its more than thirty centuries of existence. But the portion which remains is fairly legible and not difficult to understand. It consists of two or three tales of wonder, such as Joseph might have told, or Moses might have heard related by Pharaoh's daughter. Strange to think of the little bright-eyed boy standing at the knee of the princess and eagerly listening to her story, filling his little mind with wonder, as he eagerly asked for another tale. More interesting to find out that human nature at the time of the Exodus was not so marvelously different from human nature today.

I. UBBA-ANIR AND THE WAX CROCODILE.

The first story, that is to say the first in the portion of the MS. recovered, is in a very imperfect condition at the commencement. But from a word here and there on the broken leaves the sense may be gathered. It is a tale told to a prince, the son of King Chefu, about a marvelous circumstance which

happened during the reign of his father, King Nebka, defunct. On one occasion His Majesty went to the temple of Ptah and visited the house of the chief reader, Ubba-Anir. The wife of Ubba-Anir noticed a young man in the suite of the king. She sent a message to him to visit her. Ubba-Anir had a country villa on a lake. His wife directed that it was to be put in order, and made an assignation with the youth to meet her there, where "they eat, drank, bathed, and took pleasure." This came to the ears of Ubba-Anir, who became angry. He made a model of a crocodile in wax, and recited over it magic words. This he gave to his steward. Here the narrative becomes fairly perfect. "When the evening came the youth went to bathe as was his custom each day. The steward cast the crocodile of wax after him into the water, and it became a living crocodile seven cubits long, which seized the youth. Ubba-Anir was detained with His Majesty King Nebka seven days. The youth retained his breath. When the seventh day came King Nebka ordered the chief reader, Ubba-Anir, before him, who said 'Your Majesty would like to see a prodigy which has happened in the time of your Majesty.' (They went to the lake.) Ubba-Anir called the crocodile and said 'Bring up the youth.' His Majesty King Nebka was alarmed at the crocodile. Ubba-Anir bowed at this and seized the creature, which in his hand became a crocodile of wax. Then the chief reader told King Nebka what the youth had done with his wife. Thereupon His Majesty said to the crocodile 'Take what is thine and go down.' This the crocodile did and went to the bottom of the lake, and it is not known what became of him. Then King Nebka had the wife of Ubba-Anir seized and taken to the north boundary of the palace. There he gave her to the fire, and (her ashes) to the lake. Behold a prodigy which happened in the time of King Nebka, performed by the chief reader, Ubba-Anir. Then His Majesty King Chefu said, 'Now let there be offered to the defunct 1,000 loaves and 100 jugs of beer, one ox with two measures of incense to King Nebka. And with it let there be given one loaf and one jug of beer, a great piece of meat and a measure of incense to the chief reader, Ubba-Anir; I have evidence of his skill.' All was done as His Majesty commanded."

REMARKS.

These tales carry us back to a period anterior to the Exodus of the Children of Israel, from three to four thousand years ago. They show human nature to be wonderfully the same then as now. We note the same interest in what is extraordinary and surprising, and further may learn that marvels were not of common occurrence, or the story-tellers would not have had to go back so far into antiquity to find them. For between the age of Chefu and that of the MS. as generally calculated there must have been 2,000 years. Were they traditions or inventions? In all probability the latter, for the lapse of time between their transaction and narration was very great. They suggest the same delight in fiction, where the good and great are rewarded and

the wicked punished. Had these people been educated like ourselves and been surrounded with the same circumstances they would not have been different from us.

The story reveals an unexpected view of the state of society in those days when we learn of that gentleman having a lake villa besides his ordinary dwelling. This is not the only one in Egyptian literature of the faithlessness of wives, which was regarded as a great wrong, calling for terrible vengeance. The narrative indicates a great freedom in the life of ladies in those days and hence a confidence in the propriety of their conduct. It shows a high moral tone in this respect. It is worth noting that where an undefined number is wanted seven is used. The reader was detained seven days, and the crocodile was seven cubits long. The foundation of the tale is a belief in magical powers to be gained from the study of magical books. The power Ubba-Anir possessed was not very dissimilar to that recorded of Egyptian magicians in the Book of Exodus. Rather noteworthy too is the amount of offering. The king is to have 1,000 loaves and 100 jugs of beer. The magician, who really should have the glory of the prodigy, only one of each. What became of all that food, and what was the idea of its service to the departed, opens up some curious questions. Possibly there was a notion that the corpse had a Ka (spirit), and the food had a Ka, and so in some way the gifts were helpful to the defunct. Anyhow the priests, as ever in religious fancies, gained emolument by the rite.

II. ZAZAMANK AND THE LOST JEWEL.

"I have a tale to tell of a prodigy that happened at the time of thy father, Seneferoo, concerning the chief reader, Zazamank. One day King Seneferoo sent for the chief reader, Zazamank, and when he was brought His Majesty said to him, 'I have sent for you to the palace to seek for me how I can be happy (find a place of heart-refreshment). I cannot find out for myself.' Zazamank replied, 'Ah! go to the lake of Pharaoh. Have a barge fitted out with all the beautiful women of the court. Then the heart of Your Majesty will be refreshed in seeing their movements in the barge. Thou wilt see the beautiful prospect of thy lake. Thou wilt see beautiful fields and banks. Then thy heart will be refreshed. I will sit at the rudder. Get twenty oars of ebony tipped with gold; the fittings of precious wood with wrought brass. Let there be brought twenty beautiful women fair in shape and locks, that are virgins, attired with lace veils.' This was all done by order of His Majesty. They went in the boat and the heart of His Majesty was glad. Then a jewel (a fish of malachite) belonging to one of them was caught in a veil and fell into the water. The owner stopt rowing and her companions ceased rowing. His Majesty said 'Why do you not row?' They answered 'Our companion has ceased rowing.' Then His Majesty appealed to her and she said 'My jewel has fallen into the water.' Then His Majesty said to Zazamank 'My brother, I have done what you said and the heart of His Majesty was refreshed

by seeing these row. But the jewel of a little one has fallen into the water, and she has ceased to row.' The king promised to replace it, but the girl replied that it was a favorite jewel. Then the chief reader, Zazamank, recited an incantation. Thereupon there was lifted up all the water of the lake from one side to the other, and the jewel was found lying in a potsherd (or shell). Then he took it to his mistress. Now the water was twelve cubits deep and fourteen at the bend of the lake. Then he uttered the incantation and brought the waters of the lake to their proper place. Then His Majesty passed a happy day, and recompensed Zazamank with all good gifts. Behold the prodigy which happened in the time of thy father, King Seneferoo, performed by the chief reader, the Scribe Zazamank. His Majesty King Chefu commanded, 'Let there be given 1,000 loaves of bread, an 100 jugs of beer, an ox, two measures of incense to His Majesty King Seneferoo. And also let there be given a loaf of bread, a jug of beer, and a measure of incense to the chief reader, the Scribe Zazamank, for I have seen an evidence of his skill.' And it was done as His Majesty commanded."

REMARKS.

Here again we see how human nature is about the same in all ages. The king, like great people of today, has his fits of ennui. He seeks the counsel of the chief reader, a religious officer. This indicates that there were scribes considered holy in those days, for the reading of which there were officers at the temples. The king is to find refreshment in a lake trip, to view the scenes of nature. Added to this there is something charming in the description of the royal barge, of which Zazamank takes care to have charge of the helm, to be rowed by twenty fair damsels with beautiful heads of hair and oars of ebony tipped with gold, whose rhythmic movements (for that is probably the meaning of the curious phrase, literally, seeing them go up and down), in their lace veils, must have been really very pretty. To be rowed in this fashion all day long on a sunlit stream would be interesting to most of us now-a-days. Five thousand years of evolution, or say half that period, has not destroyed the possibility of enjoyment of such a holiday. There is something very natural, too, in the young lady's pettish stop at the loss of the jewel. It is rather a pretty feature in the story that the magician used his power for such an act of gallantry as to restore to the girl the amulet she prized.

III. THE THIRD STORY.

The third story is incomplete so far as it goes, and is inferior in interest. The broken lines suggest that it is a tale told by the son of the King Dadafor, in which he says that the former stories belonged to another age and were not proven, but there was a living magician who might be sent for. The man Dada by name was 110 years of age, and had for food 500 loaves and the leg of an ox, and for drink 100 jugs of beer each day. He knew how to replace a head when cut off, to chase a lion, and the secrets of Thot. He was sent

for by the king. When the messenger arrived he found Dada lying in his private apartment with one slave to feed him and another to rub his feet. An interesting instance of the antiquity of massage. He was brought to the king, who received him in state in the saloon of Pharaoh. The king proposed that a criminal should be sent for to be beheaded in the court, so as to give Dada an opportunity of showing his skill. The magician objected to having a human being thus treated. A goose was brought in, its head was cut off, the body and head laid on different sides of the hall. As Dada recited his incantations the two moved together; the head was replaced and the goose began to cackle. A similar experiment was tried on another bird and then on an ox. In each case after beheading the head was restored. Then came the question of the secrets of Thot. Those, however, could only be disclosed by the eldest of a triplet about to be born. There follows an account of the birth of the three children attended by a party of goddesses under the direction of Ra, and the narrative is broken off just when it seems impossible to guess what was about to happen. Unhappily it is vain to send to any library for the completion of the novel.

Notes and Opinions.

The Temple referred to in John 2: 20.—The current view of this passage, as found in the writings of Lightfoot, Westcott, Sanday, and others, understands the temple here referred to as the temple of Herod, which was not in Christ's time entirely finished, but had been in process of reparation for a considerable period, commonly supposed from this allusion in John to have been forty-six years. Professor E. A. Abbott, in the *Classical Review* for March (1894), speaks confidently for another interpretation. He believes that the reference is to Ezra's temple, which was not replaced by the Herodian temple, but only improved and enlarged. The word here translated "temple" is *naos*, which means only the temple proper, the small building in the center of the entire Herodian structure, containing the holy place and the holy of holies. The verse might then read: 'This temple [which Ezra built] was forty-six years in building, as we have heard from our forefathers.' In support of this interpretation Professor Abbott adduces three lines of evidence, linguistic, historical, *a priori*. (1) The aorist tense of the verb and the dative case of the noun stating the time indicate not only that the temple was regarded as complete in its present state, but also *complete in the past*. (2) An exact study of Josephus' account (*Ant.* xv. 11; xvii. 12; xx. 9; *Wars* i. 21; *et al.*) of Herod's reconstruction of the temple shows that it was finished in eight (or nine and a half) years, and celebrated as the completion of a great work; that nothing more was done to it for many years, either by Herod or his successors; but that in consequence of the too ambitious and ill-calculated design of Herod, and also of the fire in the days of Archelaus, repairs on a vast scale were going on under Agrippa II (and possibly to a minor extent under Pilate and Agrippa I); and finally, that a Jew under Pilate, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, could not possibly say, "this Herodian temple took forty-six years to build." As to the time spent in the construction of Ezra's temple, the statements are conflicting. Josephus says (*Ant.* xi. 4, 7) that it was completed in seven years, but his information here cannot be taken with the same confidence as when he speaks of the facts of his own time. He perhaps said seven years because of the sacredness of that number, and because that was the number of years spent in building Solomon's temple. The edict for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem after the Babylonian Captivity was issued "in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia," (Ezra 1: 1; 3: 1-6), that is 559 B.C. The foundations were laid and the altar erected, and then the opposition of enemies delayed the construction until the second year of Darius (Ezra 4: 24; 5: 1). Then the work was resumed, and

completed in the sixth year of Darius, 516 B.C. (Ezra 6:15f), or the eighth year, 514 B.C. (*Chronicum Paschale*), or the ninth year 513 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 4, 7). In such discrepancies the Jews under consideration would adopt the larger number, *forty-six* years. They might then use this fact proverbially: "Our temple took forty-six years to build," as we say: "Rome was not built in a day." Of course this calculation is not historically exact, for Ezra (1:1) should have said "in the first year of Cyrus's *sovereignty over the Jews*" (*i. e.*, after the Babylonian Captivity) instead of "in the first year of Cyrus, *king of Persia*," and that would make the interval much less than forty-six years. But the incorrect calculation was the current one, and is found in the chronology of Eusebius as extracted from Syncellus (Vol. ii., p. 81). (3) Modern readers take it for granted that the Herodian structure is meant when the Jews of Christ's time pointed to "this temple," but those Jews would be very unwilling to admit that the structure was a new one or particularly different from the building of their forefathers, hallowed as it was by the prophecies of Zechariah and Haggai.

Palestine Before the Exodus.—Is there any Old Testament topic more interesting? And how little has been known about it until now. Professor D. G. Lyon, Ph.D., of Harvard University, summarizes our present information on the subject in *The Independent* for May 3, 1894. The article resolves itself into a description and discussion of the Tel El-Amarna tablets, which are almost the sole source of our knowledge as to the condition of the land and the people of Canaan before it became the home of the nation founded by Moses. The story of the discovery of these tablets in 1887 has now become a familiar one, and it is an assured result of the study of them that they record facts pertaining to the history of Western Asia in the fifteenth century before Christ. Some of these facts are as follows: (1) The people living in Palestine then enjoyed frequent communication with the two ancient seats of culture, Egypt and Babylon. Not isolation but intercourse was the rule of the period. (2) The arm of Egypt was growing weak, and the little states of Palestine were falling away, many of them succumbing to the invading Khabiri. (3) The language of international communication was the Babylonian in the cuneiform script. The most probable explanation of this fact is that Palestine, before the Egyptian occupation, had been subject to Babylon, and in changing masters had found it convenient to retain the old Babylonian scribes. Probably, too, there was a strong Semitic influence at this time at the Egyptian court. (4) The Babylonian language was only the language of diplomacy, not the vernacular in Palestine. The letters employ many native Palestine words, sometimes explaining a Babylonian term by its Palestinian equivalent. The words thus employed show that the language of Palestine was already essentially the same as Hebrew. (5) The Hebrews were not yet in possession of the land, though it is possible that we have here the beginnings of the Hebrew invasions. (6) The success of the invaders was made the more easy

by the dissensions of the native populations in Palestine. (7) Jerusalem had already that prominence which is assigned to it in the biblical account of the Hebrew conquest.

The bearing of these conclusions upon many portions of the Old Testament narrative will occur to any one. We can now understand the campaign of Amraphel, King of Shinar (*i. e.*, Babylonia) and his allies (Gen. 14) against the King of Sodom and his allies; the wanderings of Abraham from Babylonia to Canaan, Egypt and Philistia, of Jacob to Aram and Egypt, the selling of Joseph to traders going down to Egypt; and the fact that the King of Jerusalem led the southern coalition against the Hebrew invaders (Josh. 10).

The Synoptic Problem.—An excellent résumé of this perplexing and intricate theme of New Testament criticism is being presented in a series of articles by Dr. Paton J. Gloag in *The Thinker* (January, February, April, June). The different theories that have been brought forward to account for the formation of the first three Gospels are briefly but adequately passed in review. The coincidences and differences which appear in a comparison of Matthéw, Mark and Luke are well before the writer.

There are three general classes of theories: (1) The hypothesis of a mutual dependence of the Synoptics. This theory assumes that the Gospel of Mark was compiled from the Gospels of Matthéw and Luke, and that Luke borrowed from Matthéw. But the later advocates of it admit the originality of Mark, and claim the dependence of Luke upon Matthéw and Mark, and the dependence of Matthéw on Mark. This theory Dr. Gloag rejects because the facts seem to indicate: *a*) that Mark is not a compilation or an abbreviation, but an original and independent Gospel, *b*) that in all probability Matthéw and Luke made use of the Gospel of Mark as one of their sources, and *c*) that Matthéw and Luke wrote independently.

(2) The hypothesis of an oral tradition as the source of the Synoptics. According to this theory, all the three Evangelists wrote independently of each other; the preaching of the apostles was the original source of their information, supplemented perhaps by fragmentary written accounts; and the identity, as well as the diversity, which exists between them is due to their oral transmission and the fact that during this transmission the material had to be translated from Aramaic into Greek. Many scholars hold to this explanation: Gieseler, Lange, Alford, Westcott, Godet, Schaff, and others. But Dr. Gloag points out difficulties with it: *a*) It cannot account for the similarity which pervades the three Gospels, an agreement not only in events but also in expressions and words; *b*) it is improbable that a general oral Gospel which dwelt upon the actions and discourses of Jesus would have omitted some account of the Judean ministry such as the fourth Gospel contains; *c*) the specimens of the teachings of the apostles given in the Book of Acts do not bear out the supposition that their teaching consisted almost entirely in narratives of Christ's life, or in the repetition of His parables and discourses; *d*) agreement

as to the arrangement of material in the synoptic narratives, even where that arrangement departs from the natural chronological order, is a phenomenon not satisfactorily accounted for. Therefore, although oral tradition must have entered largely into the sources of the Gospels, and must have become more or less stereotyped as regards both incident and expression, yet it cannot by itself alone, independent of written documents, account for their formation.

(3) The hypothesis of an original document or documents as the basis of our present synoptic Gospels. Luke speaks (Luke 1:1-3) of many such written records of the incidents and teachings of Christ's ministry, from the hands of those who had been His immediate followers, and Luke's own Gospel appears to be founded upon these earlier documents, with perhaps additions of new matter procured by himself, thus making a more orderly and complete narrative of the life of Christ. This is today the prevalent theory, and gives rise to a great variety of suppositions. It can be combined with the hypothesis of mutual dependence, and it admits to a greater or less degree the hypothesis of any oral tradition preceding any documents. It postulates a group of Gospel narratives preceding our present Gospels, to which our Gospels are the natural successors as being the final forms into which the Gospel narrative was arranged. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, as we have them, may be quite independent of each other, deriving their coincidences from the earlier documents on which they rest, and their divergences from the separate locality and authorship whence they arose. It is most probable that the oral Gospel gradually assumed a written form, first in the Aramaic, then in the Greek, primarily in fragmentary form, then by later stages in more extended form and more nearly chronological arrangement. The various branches of this documentary hypothesis today advocated by leading scholars will form the subject of some further papers in Dr. Gloag's useful series.

The Restoration of Israel after the Captivity.—It seems that Dutch scholars are inclined to be even more radical in the biblical discussions than the German or even the French scholars of the type of Havet and others. The most advanced positions in New Testament discussions are taken by the Dutch professors Pierson, Loman and others. Dr. Koster, of Leyden, has made an attempt at extreme radicalism in another direction recently, namely, in regard to the Persian period and the restoration of Israel after the Captivity. He maintains that the idea of such a restoration by the Persians must be given up as legendary, basing his views on a critical comparison of the books of Haggai, Zechariah or Ezra. He holds that the rebuilding of the temple was not begun at the command of Cyrus, nor by the returned Israelites, but rather by those remaining in Palestine, and that too not until 520 B.C. under Darius Hystaspis, the building being completed in 516. The walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt only in 444 B.C.

Dr. Denney's View of Inspiration.—The lectures upon Inspiration recently given by Rev. James Denney, D.D., of Scotland, before the Chicago Theological Seminary, awakened much discussion and even some alarm in certain circles. He was therefore invited by *The Independent* to present his views upon the subject to the general public interested in such problems. This, Dr. Denney has done in two articles upon *The Value of Scripture*, in the issues of that paper for May 31 and June 14. It is a pity that only brief extracts can be given here: "The apostle Paul's definition of the import and the scope of inspiration appears in his words, 'Every scripture, inspired of God, is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work.' Here we notice two things: first, that according to St. Paul the whole import and scope of inspiration is practical. When we say Scripture is infallible we mean that Scripture never fails to do these things for the man who gives it a chance; it never fails to teach him, to reprove him, to put him right where he is wrong, to train him in righteousness, to make a man of God out of him, to equip him thoroughly for every good work. Second, that the Bible actually has this power. It is an old book and has been tried. Men through the Bible have believed in One only, the living and true God, and are living the life which justly corresponds to that faith. The words of the Bible do sound in men's hearts and speak for righteousness with the power that comes from God. And that, according to the apostle, is the proof of inspiration.

"Jesus is the very type of inspiration, and the words of Jesus are the perfect type of inspired words. They correct, reprove, discipline in righteousness. There is no proof that they are inspired outside of the effects that they have in human hearts. Jesus never proved anything that He said; He simply speaks, and if a man rejects Christ's words, if he is not sensitive to the spirit of God that speaks in them and works through them, it is because of some moral obliquity in him that sets him against Christ himself. So in regard to the New Testament books other than the Gospels, which do not directly record Christ's words. We also call those writings inspired because we find by experience that they assert for themselves in our hearts the same authority, because they do the same work that the words of our Lord Jesus Christ himself do."

"The prophets were a series of men standing in a certain succession, along which God was actually working, specially preparing for the coming of His Son; and when Christ came He saw His own likeness dimly outlined in many of the great prophetic pictures. But when the fulfillment came it was so much greater, it so far transcended everything that the prophets had been allowed to see, that the whole form of their anticipations seemed inadequate. The details that they foresaw, the special form in which the future came within their grasp, was something far less than the truth. We do not insist

upon the form at all. We do not find the inspiration of the prophet in the particular cast he has given to God's revelations; we say that belongs to his time, that belongs to his limitations, and what we have to get from the prophet is not the particular fashion in which he clothes his anticipations of the future; what we have to get from him is his faith in God's redeeming love, his faith in the fact that the future belongs to God, his faith in the fact that God is working a work of His own, age after age, that it is God's will that will stand, and God's work that will be done, and God's victory that will be revealed to all flesh. There is nothing in the world like prophecy in Israel, nothing like its continuity, like the consistency in its conception of God; nothing like the ethical riches of prophecy, nothing like its faith in God's redeeming love, and in the triumph of good in the future. Yet there never was any proof of the inspiration of the prophets except that the words which they spoke had power to take hold of men's minds and hearts, and work God's purposes and God's will in them."

"What we call the historical books of the Old Testament—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings—were called by the Jewish Church prophetic books. Their authors were not regarded as chroniclers but as religious teachers. If we choose to look at them as historical writings, we see this: they are more or less valuable according to the opportunities that the writers had of knowing the historical facts. The record of the last days of King David is plainly told by some man who lived in the daylight of contemporary history. The Book of Judges contains the story of Israel for some four hundred years, and we do not know what opportunities the writer had of knowing all the details of the history—they may be more correct or less correct. It doesn't matter to us in the very least, and we cannot find out. What we have to learn from the Book of Judges, for instance, is the writer's conviction that God rules among the nations, that God is present in this nation, that God is present in every nation in this world in His mercy and in His judgment, and that in the great crises of national history His providence is signally at work. In the early chapters of Genesis the writer is dealing with prehistoric times, at an immeasurable distance from the facts. They therefore contain no historical evidence and no science. Nevertheless, the men to whom God was making Himself known—and revelation means, not that God discloses history or science to us, but that He discloses Himself to us—these men had their ideas about prehistoric times, the beginning of human history. The childish and simple answers which men have given to questions which they could not answer historically or scientifically, are called myths. The mythical stage of the human mind is one through which all nations and all races, as a matter of fact, have passed. It is a stage through which the Hebrews passed, exactly as every other nation did, and when we come to the beginning of the Bible, the question that arises in our minds is this: Can God so fill with His own spirit those childlike answers of the human heart to its own questions about

the origin of things, that they shall be profitable for teaching, for correction, for reproof, for discipline in righteousness, for making the man of God perfect unto every good work? The first three chapters of Genesis contain more traces of the child stage of development in man's mind than all the rest of the Bible put together. Yet I will venture to say this, that no chapters in the Bible more fully prove their power than these to do God's work in men's souls. How impressively are taught the absolute dependence of all things upon God, the kinship of the human spirit with the divine, the vocation of man to subdue all things to himself, the pride, willfulness and disobedience of the human heart, God's power to discover and condemn evil, the promise of a deliverer from evil. The great truths of religion are the divine and permanent element, the form and accompaniments of the narration are human and transient. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings He ordains strength."

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE FOUR PERIODS OF THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH. By REV. G. DOUGLAS, B.D., in *The Thinker* for May, 1894. Pp. 397-403.

With few exceptions the prophecies of this book fall into the following groups :

1. First four years of Jehoiakim, B.C. 608-605 ; 2. First four years of Zedekiah, B.C. 597-594 ; 3. Last three years of Zedekiah, B.C. 589-587 ; 4. A short period following the destruction of Jerusalem, B.C. 587.

I. *The first four years of Jehoiakim.* Period of Warning.—With Jehoiakim's accession, the work of Josiah was reversed. The idols which had been so zealously put down were set up again in every city. A prophet who had joined heartily in the reforms of Josiah must make a new departure in his ministry. Jeremiah was guided to this by two visions. The vision of the almond or "waking" tree and that of the boiling pot. By these visions the prophet was called to gird himself with greater determination to resist increasing opposition.

These visions and the early chapters of Jeremiah, are not assigned, as is usually done, to the reign of Josiah, because : 1. The Book of Jeremiah does not mention : the finding of the Book of the Law ; the reforms of Josiah ; the battle of Megiddo ; the death of the king. 2. Because it does mention : unrestrained idolatry ; dependence on Egypt instead of Chaldea ; an imminent invasion. Therefore, the main body of the book must have arisen after the accession of Jehoiakim. Further, that this must have had its origin before the end of the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign is evident from the references to the persecution, which was a consequence of the prophet's fearless preaching. This kept him in enforced concealment till the death of the king. The prophecies of this period are, with slight exceptions, chapters 1-20 ; 22 ; 23 ; 25 ; 26 ; 35:46-51, and, as appendices belonging to the following year, chapters 36 and 45.

II. *The first four years of Zedekiah.* Comfort to the exiles.—On the death of Jehoiakim it was safe for Jeremiah to leave his seclusion. Jehoiachin, the son and successor of Jehoiakim, and all his "men of might" had been taken to Babylon. Jeremiah is again called upon to make a new departure in his ministry, and is again prepared by a vision, that of the two baskets of figs. Up to this time the prophet had looked to Babylon with dread ; now, however, Babylon was the seat of hope. Accordingly, he sent a letter to the captives exhorting them to live quietly in the city to which they had been transported, and assured them that at the end of seventy years they should return. To this period belong chapters 24 ; 29 ; 27 ; 28 : 57, 59-64.

III. *The last three years of Zedekiah.* The prophet in prison; his vision of the restored kingdom.—After the fourth year of Zedekiah, we again lose sight of the prophet until his ninth year, when the Babylonians are besieging the city. When on his way to go into the land of Benjamin, the prophet was seized and cast into prison, and was not freed until the city was taken. During his imprisonment he often gave advice to the weak king regarding the siege, and to the people concerning their safety. But his mind was most frequently filled with thoughts of the future. Very often he assured the faithful that “vineyards should yet again be bought in that land”: that God’s covenant would surely be fulfilled. At this time chapters 30 and 31, which contain the highest of his teachings, were written. To this period belong chapters 21; 30–34; 37; 38; 39, 15–18.

IV. *A short period following the destruction of Jerusalem.* Flight into Egypt. Chapters 40–44. This period is not commented upon.

A very interesting article and one which, while inviting to the further study of the details of the prophet’s life, does not alter our conceptions of his work as a whole.

L. A. J.

THE BOOK OF JONAH. ITS AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF COMPOSITION. By REV. JOHN KENNEDY, A.M., D.D., in *The Thinker* for April, 1894. Pp. 307–315.

Disregarding the linguistic argument as of slight value on either side, Dr. Kennedy defends the early date of the book, and enumerates the external considerations that mark the prophet Jonah as the author. Regarding the question of date there is to be noted the fact that Nineveh, destroyed so completely in B. C. 606, that Herodotus and Xenophon, a hundred and fifty and two hundred years later respectively, were ignorant of its location, is referred to in the Book of Jonah not only as a well-known capitol, but familiar in its features; which would have been impossible had the book been written long after the city perished. Moreover the coloring of the prophecy is in harmony with the age from which it purports to come, and not with the exilic or post-exilic time. It is a severe strain to which the doctrine of prophetic inspiration is subjected by the supposition that it lifted the prophet out of all touch with the present and transported him into the atmosphere of a distant past. Quoting Orelli as characterizing the mission of Jonah as an epoch-making event, the question occurs how could so important an event remain unrecorded for from two to four hundred years, as the late date assumes? All other leading events in Hebrew history were speedily chronicled, and it is scarcely probable that this was an exception. The book is didactic, but so is every other scripture. Jonah is, however, marked by a close adherence to events, with no moralizing digressions. It leaves the facts to make their own impress. As regards authorship, if Jonah himself, the prophet of whom the

book speaks, be not the author, where in the later times is a writer to be found? Its author must have been a prophet, and the prophets were not obscure men. No one save the chief actor in the book was familiar with the facts. If a post-exilic writer gave the book its literary form, he must have had records from Jonah himself. To be sure, the book makes no claim to be the work of Jonah, but it nowhere disclaims it. The whole character of the narrative, the unworthy part performed by the prophet himself, and the importance of the mission as worthy of immediate record, all make reasonable the supposition that as a prophet who had accomplished a great work with slight credit to himself, but great blessing to others, Jonah should tell the story of his preaching at Nineveh.

It is a question whether the linguistic indications of later date, the invariable reference to the prophet in the third person, the fairly pointed notes of retrospection in the narrative and the greater resemblance of the book to exilic and post-exilic literature, are to be dismissed with the assurance which characterizes Dr. Kennedy's treatment. The weight of the two leading arguments (1) that Nineveh was forgotten in exilic times, and (2) that the writer could not transport himself into a distant past, is seriously compromised by the considerations (a) that Nineveh would scarcely be forgotten by a people who had suffered so severely at her hands, as contrasted with the Greeks whose acquaintance with the east was late, and (b) that the familiarity shown with the city is exceedingly slight and general. The second argument proves too much for the conservative position. If a prophet may not transport himself into a somewhat remote past to reproduce its events for religious purposes, would it be possible for him to place himself a century or more in advance of his day, and from that point speak his message, as is presumed regarding the prophecies of Daniel and the later chapters of Isaiah? The article affords an interesting view of the more popular and external argument for the early date of the book. H. L. W.

THE PROPHETS AND SACRIFICE. By Professor ANDREW HARPER, in *The Expositor* for April, 1894. Pp. 241-253.

It seems necessary to take exception to the teaching of the later critical school on the subject of sacrifice. The critics maintain that sacrifice was in no way a condition of the divine covenant with Israel; that the prophets denounced it when it was put forward as such, and instead of valuing it, repudiated it; but that after the exile it was adopted by the prophets even as essential, and thus came to be the central idea of Christianity.

Now not only has sacrifice been an indispensable element of worship in all ancient religions, but in the Semitic and especially the later Jewish religion, the close connection between it and the forgiveness of sins is fundamental, and in passing to Christianity, whose dominating idea has hitherto been the sacrificial and atoning nature of the death of Christ, its importance is very manifest. *A priori*, therefore, it seems to many hardly likely that the religion of Jehovah should have been meant to be from the beginning independent of

the one universally understood mode of worship, or that the foundation of the thought which has in the long run proved dominant in true religion should have been, during the whole history of Israel as a nation, regarded as an inheritance from heathendom which was merely coldly tolerated.

The critics—more specifically Professor Robertson Smith—quote Amos 2:10 and 5:25; Micah 6:8; and Jeremiah 7:21, *seq.*, to substantiate their belief that the prophets conceived sacrifice not necessary to acceptable religion and not to be a positive divine institution. These passages do not need to be interpreted in so liberal and strenuous a manner. Another meaning more consonant with the historical facts seems quite as fair and more desirable.

It is hardly conceivable that Jeremiah, who was so closely connected with the promulgation of the newly-found book as by some to be considered its author, would have repudiated the direct and positive injunctions of Deuteronomy uttered in the name of Moses and of God. Moreover, two interpretations of the Jeremiah passage are perfectly in accord with sound exegesis. Jeremiah may mean that Jehovah gave them no command concerning burnt offering and sacrifice comparable in emphasis with that by which he enjoined them to obey his voice; or, here the prophet may be simply reasoning on the letter of Deuteronomy, simply pointing out what Deuteronomy states. In that narrative of what took place at Sinai, Jehovah did not speak to the fathers concerning burnt offerings and sacrifice. He spoke only the decalogue and the other ordinances were spoken by Moses.

The Micah passage is perhaps the strongest for the opposition. It, however, does not state that sacrifice had never been divinely commanded, nor does it repudiate it *per se*, but rather rebukes the people for their low conception of Jehovah's character as a moral being who can be won over by ritualistic zeal or abundance of sacrifice. Such an interpretation seems necessary in view of the pre-existing Book of the Covenant.

With regard to Amos's statement about the wilderness journey, the second of the interpretations offered for the Jeremiah passage applies. He is not giving a different tradition from that which the oldest records contain, but merely using as an argument what he finds in them. In JE there is no record of systematic sacrifice in the wilderness. Sacrifice is simply taken for granted and some instructions given regarding it. Amos' argument is mainly this. During the wilderness journey there is no record of sacrifice having been offered. Yet that was the time above all in which Jehovah specially revealed himself to his people in love. Consequently sacrifice cannot be the first and main element in the covenant with Jehovah as ye are making it.

In brief, one does not care to combat the critical position that sacrifice had its broadest signification and its deep atoning meaning in the late Levitical code, but rather the position of those who hold that the prophets deny any ritual and divinely-given place to sacrifice in the religion of Israel.

H. F. M.

THE HEBREW LEGEND OF CIVILIZATION IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERY. By W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN, in *The Expository Times* for May, 1894. Pp. 351-56.

The Hebrew account of the ten antediluvian patriarchs has its parallels in Egyptian and Assyrian story, and all agree in placing the beginning of civilization and of class distinctions in the period before the flood. The record of this beginning in Genesis is given us by the Jehovist who consistently ascribes the fall to man's desire for forbidden knowledge, and assigns the beginnings of the arts of civilization to Cain, the murderer. The article aims to show what light has been thrown upon this fourth chapter of Genesis by recent discoveries in Chaldea.

In Cain and Abel we have the progenitors of the two primitive classes, the agriculturalist and the nomad, and in the fratricide we have the beginning of that enmity between the two classes, which is brought out again in the story of Jacob and Esau, and is still seen in the lasting feud between the Bedaween and the Fellaheen. In this struggle, the agriculturalist prevails over the shepherd. In the Jehovist's eyes, civilization and sin are connected. It is by deceit that the more polished and domestic Jacob takes away the birthright of the huntsman, Esau. Nathan rebukes David's desire to build to Jehovah a costly house, for Jehovah has been satisfied to dwell in a tent, and the work of Elijah, the great "prophet of the desert," is a nomad's protest against the luxury of the court of Ahab and Jezebel.

Under the Hebrew dispensation, it is the life of the shepherd that pleases the god of the land. Abel's sacrifice is accepted. The curse upon Adam involves the laborious tilling of the soil. But in Chaldea, the gardener's occupation is an honored one, and from the time of Sargon I, 3800 B. C., the word *ingar* a "gardener," is found among the royal titles.

Cain for his punishment became a fugitive and a vagabond, and went forth and dwelt in the land of Nod. The same root, *nadu*, to wander, is found frequently in Assyrian inscriptions, and in various connections and forms is applied to the mixed nations that inhabited the mountains to the east of the Tigris and to the Scythians, who, from time to time, swept down upon the fertile plains of Chaldea. Here, in these mountains, the original home of the Akkadians, the Turanian population of Chaldea, was the first building of cities and development of arts and sciences. Recently discovered monuments in Chaldea bear out the implication of Gen. 4:17, that in this "region of the wanderers" in Elam was the earliest seat of civilization.

According to Gen. 4:17, Cain's first city was Enoch or Khanock. The name of the most ancient capital of Chaldea in the Gizdhubar legend is *Uruki*, the Erech of Gen. 10:10, but this is merely the Semiticised form of the older Akkadian name *Unu-ki*, *Unug*, the equivalent phonetically of the Hebrew Enoch, which appears in Gen. 4:17. Cain's first city then was Ereck or Unuk, the first capital of Chaldea. Then if we may understand the

names in the genealogy as geographical rather than personal, we have in Irad, the son of Enoch, the old Semitic Babylonian *Eridu*, the southern sacred city of Chaldea.

In Lamech we have the Hebrew form of the Akkadian Lamga, the Moon-god whose seat of worship was at Ur. Adah, Assyrian *edhute* "darkness," and Zillah, *tsillu*, "shade," were appropriate consorts of the Moon-god. If now, in Gen. 4 : 20, we read for *ohel*, "cities" instead of "tents," a sense which it sometimes has in Hebrew and always has in its Assyrian form *alu*, we shall have the descendants of Jubal, the son of Adah, to be "such as dwell in cities and have cattle," which would exactly describe the population of Ur, Erech, Sippara, and other large cities. In the seventh Creation tablet we find a distinction between the *bulu ali* or cattle of the towns and the *bulu tseri* or cattle of the desert plain. The descendants of Jubal then will be not nomads but men of a higher stage of civilization, the inhabitants of cities.

In Jubal, we have the inventor of instruments of music. In thus placing the arts of pleasure before those of utility, the Hebrew legend is in accord with what we find in most primitive stages of society, and it is worthy of note that the two instruments mentioned here, the harp and pipe, are the two that we find pictured on the earliest Chaldean monuments dating back before 3000 B.C. A consideration of the names of these two instruments, the *kinnor* and the *ugab* goes to show that the *kinnor* was so named from the name of a certain town of Kinunir mentioned in one of the lists of the gods, where it would appear that the worship of Tammuz Adonis was prominent, a worship closely associated with music; and the second instrument, the *ugab*, is probably the *gi-bu* or long reed-pipe used as a flute in Chaldean religious services and mentioned in inscriptions.

The last step in the progress of civilization is taken in the working of copper and iron, and the name Tubal-Cain is discussed and the successive stages in the development of metallurgy. Copper is mentioned in the earliest hymns, but iron seems to have been a late production. As late as the ninth century B.C., axes of bronze are used to cut paths through the mountains. Iron seems to have been first developed in Palestine, and the discoveries of Mr. Bliss at Tel Hesi (Lachish) seem to show that the smelting of iron was understood in Palestine in pre-Israelite times.

The purpose of the articles, to throw light on Gen. 4, from recent Chaldean discoveries, is well carried out, and the point is well sustained that the progress of civilization as given in that chapter corresponds in all essential particulars with what we know of early Chaldean civilization as it appears in the monuments.

D. A. W.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

Sunday-School Work. The Institute examination on the International Sunday-School Lessons of the past six months took place June 30. We give below the questions which were used in the examination.

Progressive Grade.

1. In connection with the story of creation give the teaching of the writer in regard to
 - a) the origin of all things,
 - b) the relative importance of the acts of creation,
 - c) the possibilities and destiny of man,
 - d) the institution of the Sabbath.
2. Give (a) the account of the entrance of sin into the world; (b) some evidences of its growth previous to the deluge.
3. Name those characteristics of (a) Abraham and (b) Jacob, which specially fitted them to become the founders of a nation and a religion.
4. Tell briefly the story of Joseph.
5. State what preparation for a national life the Israelites received in Egypt?
6. By what means was Moses fitted to become a leader of the people?
7. Give the story of the institution of the passover. What is the modern representation of this feast? Why do we celebrate it?
8. Name three great ordinances enacted by Jehovah preparatory to the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai.
9. Think through the entire period of history from the creation to the exodus, taking sin, punishment, restoration and purification, as the key. Name as many of the stories or incidents as you can remember which distinctly teach the lesson of those four words.
10. After six months' study of the Book of Genesis, what do you consider its primary purpose? Does its highest value lie in its religious teachings or in its relation to history?

Intermediate Grade.

1. What does the story of the creation teach in regard to (a) the original state of man; (b) the institution of the Sabbath?
2. What reason can you give for the restriction placed upon Adam and Eve concerning certain trees of the garden?
3. Tell the story of Cain and Abel. Why do you think the offering of Cain was not pleasing to the Lord?

4. Name three men with whom three great covenants were made, preparatory to the greater covenant to be made with Moses on Sinai?
5. From what country was Abraham called by God to go into a new land, and for what purpose? Describe the character of Abraham.
6. Give an account of the return of Jacob to Canaan after his long exile. What elements in his character were worthy of imitation?
7. Tell what you can in regard to the life of the Israelites in Egypt. How and why did the education of Moses differ from that of his people?
8. Give an account of the institution of the Passover. What is our modern representation of this feast? Why do we celebrate it?
9. In this period of beginnings give an instance (the first mentioned if you can remember it) of the manifestation of each of the following: faith, courage, obedience, generosity, truthfulness, a sense of honor, family love, patience, kindness, love of God.
10. What lessons can you draw from the Book of Genesis concerning (a) the overruling power of God in history; (b) his presence with and interest in individual men and women; (c) his attitude toward and his method of dealing with sin; (d) his treatment of those who seek to obey and please him. Answer this question by giving illustrations of each.

This issue of THE BIBLICAL WORLD goes to press before the returns come in, therefore no report of the results of the examination can be given.

Helps for Sunday-School Teachers. With the first of July the Sunday-school world turns again to the Life of Christ. In the twelve months which are to be spent upon this subject there will be time to learn much more than is required in the regular International lessons.

There are many opportunities for guidance in such work. Among those offered by the Institute are: 1. The Correspondence Course in Luke. The student in this course will study, paragraph by paragraph, the whole Gospel of Luke; consider the parallel narratives; acquire a connected and chronological outline of the events in the life of Jesus; study the historical, exegetical and literary topics suggested by those events; investigate the interesting and important words or phrases as they present themselves; determine the teaching of each section by itself and in relation to the remainder of the book; bring out constantly the practical applications of the facts studied. The basis of this work is found in the Inductive Studies in Luke published several years ago in connection with the Institute work. These studies have been translated into Japanese by Rev. Albert Arnold Bennett, a missionary in Yokohama, and are now in process of publication for the use of Japanese students in the Theological Schools of Japan. 2. The Correspondence Course in the Gospel of John. In this course the student will acquire a connected and chronological outline of the *discourses* of Jesus; study the peculiar words and phrases which John uses; grasp in a general way the

critical questions involved ; obtain an organized view of the purpose and teaching of the Gospel, taking first each section by itself and then as part of the whole book ; bring out constantly the practical teachings of the book. This work is also based upon a series of Inductive studies published in 1890 in connection with the Institute work. 3. The Bible Students' Reading Guild, the members of which will pursue the course of Reading on the Life of Christ. (This work was fully explained in the BIBLICAL WORLD for June.) 4. The outline Inductive studies published in the Sunday-School Times and prepared by the Institute will be found very helpful if they are followed out with care. They can be used with great profit also in connection with the Reading Guild work.

The Bible Study Course for organizations for Christian work. Those who have been studying in this department during the past year, together with the many who are waiting for the new year to begin and the other many who will become acquainted with and decide to take up the work before October 1st, will on that day begin a nine months' study of the *Foreshadowings of Christ*. This will include an outline of study of Old Testament history and prophecy, and will not confine itself to the specific Messianic predictions. It should be understood that this course of study is designed for quite a different purpose than the work assigned the Reading Guild. This course uses the Bible alone, and is intended to teach those who have been more or less dependent upon "helps" to use their Bibles easily and intelligently. It is also especially intended to supply the need felt by all organizations for Christian work for some specific biblical instruction. Members of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, of the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, and of the Order of the Sons and Daughters of the King have been enrolled during the past year. Other organizations are expected to come into line during the coming year.

Not long since we published in this column the statement that the work of this course had been officially adopted by the Christian Endeavor Union of New South Wales. The Christian Endeavor Union of Victoria, a colony of Australia which boasts 15,000 Christian Endeavorers, has now adopted the course. Material for 1,000 members has been sent out to the colony for a beginning. The work with them will commence October 1st, and they will keep one year behind the American students in order that material may be supplied in time.

The largest club thus far recorded comes in almost at the end of the year. The members are willing to work rapidly, however, and will be ready to take up the second year's work nearly on time. The club is connected with the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh, Pa., of which the Reverend Lemuel C. Barnes is pastor. Seventy-four members are enrolled and much enthusiasm in the work is reported.

Work and Workers.

THE General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church at New York City has called the Rev. Provost Body, who has been for twelve years at the head of Trinity College, Toronto, to its Professorship of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis. The appointment has been accepted.

THE chair of Biblical Theology at Hartford Theological Seminary is to be occupied by President C. D. Hartranft, D.D. This arrangement was announced at the sixtieth anniversary meeting of the Seminary held in June, and President Hartranft presented for the occasion an address treating of the Influence of Biblical Theology upon Theological Science.

It is not often that American contributions to biblical discussion are thought to be sufficiently original and important to justify their translation into German for circulation in that country. The present exception is Professor William Henry Green's *Hebrew Feasts*. The translation is by Rev. Otto Becher, of Elmira, N. Y., and the publisher is Berthelsmann, Gütersloh.

THE British Museum authorities have issued a descriptive *List of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts* belonging to that library. A detailed catalogue of them is being prepared by the Rev. G. Margoliouth. As it will necessarily take many years to complete this catalogue, it was thought best to issue at once the short list for the use of those making researches in this department. To this list are appended minute indexes of authors and titles furnished by Mr. Margoliouth.

THERE is soon to be published a *History of Egypt, from Earliest Times to the Hyksos*, being the first installment of a history of Egypt in six volumes. The author is Professor Flinders Petrie, whose name is a guarantee that the work will be of first-class workmanship and value. The history is intended both for students and for general reading and reference. The same writer announces that he will prepare a series of *Egyptian Folk-tales*, the first volume to appear during the summer.

WORK has already begun at Jerusalem under the *firman* recently granted by the Sultan for two years of excavating in that city. It has been decided to begin the excavations on Zion and proceed toward Ophel, with a view to exploring the whole tract lying between the south wall of the city and the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat. This will uncover what remains of structures erected in the days of David and Solomon, and may show much older ruins. Mr. F. J. Bliss has the explorations in charge.

ONE of the themes to be discussed by the American Institute of Christian Philosophy, at its summer meeting to be held at Chautauqua, N.Y., July 5-12, is the Incarnation. Three papers upon different phases of the subject will be presented : (1) The Incarnation Philosophically Considered, by Rev. Lewis Lampman, D.D., Newark, N. J. (2) The Incarnation Biblically Considered, by Professor G. T. Purves, D.D., Princeton Theological Seminary. (3) The Incarnation Historically Considered, by President C. D. Hartranft, D.D., Hartford Theological Seminary.

ALL departments of linguistic study, the Bible not excepted, felt the influence of the late Professor William Dwight Whitney, who died June 7th, at New Haven, Conn. He was sixty-seven years of age, and had been for nearly forty years the incumbent of the chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Yale University. He was the founder and builder of philological studies in America. As an Oriental scholar he made many important contributions to knowledge. Perhaps his most general and practical work was done in the matter of dictionary-making, having assisted in the 1864 edition of *Webster's Dictionary*, and being editor-in-chief of the magnificent *Century Dictionary* recently published.

PROBABLY the learned Hebrew rabbi, Dr. Alexander Kohut, who died a few weeks ago in New York, was little known personally or professionally to the great body of American scholars. He was a Hungarian by birth, about forty years of age, brought up in the Jewish schools. Quite early he conceived the idea of revising the much used Talmudic Arúkh of Rabbi Nathan, which he found to contain many etymological errors and omissions. After studying with celebrated Orientalists in Germany he was called to be rabbi of the Temple Ahavath-Chesed (Brotherhood of Mercy) in New York City. He then, by the financial aid of friends, completed the publication of his work, in nine volumes of unpointed Hebrew.

MUCH may be expected from the series of articles by Professor J. A. Beet, D.D., which begins in *The Expositor* for June. The subject is the *New Testament Teaching on the Second Coming of Christ*. His purpose is to reproduce the teaching of the various writers of the New Testament about Christ's second coming, noting the agreement and difference of different writers. Then to attempt to grasp the significance and estimate the value of this teaching, and to indicate its practical bearing on the spiritual life of men today. As to the nature of the second advent there is much diversity of opinion at present, and we may hope that Professor Beet, for whose scholarship and writings we have high admiration, will help us to a clearer understanding of the doctrine and its practical import.

THIRTY years have now passed since the first part appeared of *Tischendorf's Greek Testament*, Editio octavo critica major. Twenty years ago the revered editor passed from his labors, and other scholars were called upon to

carry the work forward. Ten years ago the first part of the Prolegomena to the edition was issued by Professor Caspar René Gregory, assisted by Dr. Ezra Abbot. And now the whole vast work is complete. It is Volume III, Pars Ultima (Leipzig : Hinrichs, pp. xii, 801-1428, M. 13½), which adds the final section to all that has, during an entire generation, gone before. No one who has not done work of a similar character can conceive of the labor, pains and learning involved in such a production. The sense of relief which the editors must feel can only be equaled by the sense of gratitude with which the public accepts the marvelous achievement. It will be, as the preceding parts of it already have become, the critical edition of the New Testament *par excellence*.

THE current announcements of the *Cambridge University Press*, represented in this country by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., New York, include some books of interest to biblical scholars : an edition of the *Syriac Gospels*, transcribed by the late Professor Bensly, Mr. J. R. Harris, and Mr. F. C. Burkitt from the Manuscript discovered on Mount Sinai by Mrs. S. S. Lewis ; a series under the title of *Studia Sinaitica*, including a Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, compiled by Mrs. S. S. Lewis ; an Arabic version of certain of the Epistles from a manuscript in the same Convent, and a Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the same Convent, both edited by Mrs. Gibson ; an edition of *Origen's Commentaries on St. John*, by Mr. A. E. Brooke. The third and concluding volume of Dr. Swete's edition of the Septuagint is said to be at last finished. The Press will soon issue a pocket edition on India paper of Scrivener's *Smaller Greek Testament* with the Revisers' readings. The next publication in the series of *Texts and Studies* will be the *Rules of Tyconius*, by Mr. F. C. Burkitt.

PERHAPS it is pardonable that one begins to feel impatient because one does not hear of any new volume in the *International Theological Library* as soon to be ready. The three volumes already published, Dr. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, Dr. Smyth's *Christian Ethics*, and Dr. Bruce's *Apologetics*, have established the reputation of the Series, so ably planned by Drs. Briggs and Salmond. There will be nothing better, indeed there will be, generally speaking, nothing so good, in the various lines touched upon, as these several contributions to theological literature. Therefore the impatience—it is two years since the last of the first three volumes was issued, and two years seems a long interval. One can but wonder which of the works prospectively announced will next be given to the waiting public. The list is as follows : *The Theology of the Old Testament*, by Professor A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., of New College, Edinburgh ; *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, by Professor S. D. F. Salmond, D.D., of Free Church College, Aberdeen ; *Contemporary History of the Old Testament*, by Professor Francis Brown, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York ; *History of Christian Doctrine*, by Professor G. P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D.,

of Yale University, New Haven; *Comparative Religion*, by Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., of Mansfield College, Oxford; *Philosophy of Religion*, by Professor Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., of the University of Edinburgh; *Christian Institutions*, by Professor A. V. G. Allen, D.D., of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; *The Apostolic Church*, by Professor A. C. McGiffert, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; and a volume upon *Symbolics* was to have been written by the late Professor Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D.

THE department of Books and Writers in the *Sunday School Times* for June 9 has a well-written review of the five principal *Teachers' Bibles* now upon the market. It is very important for people who purchase Bibles to know the characteristics of the various editions that may be had; it is an erroneous idea that one copy of the Bible is as good as another, and that those which can be bought for a small sum will answer the purpose as well as the more expensive. It is undoubtedly true that the great and cheap stock of Bibles in the King James Version, which can be cheaply added to, retards the introduction of the much better Revised Version. It is a pity that the highest good of the public is so subordinated to the business thrift of Bible publishers. Of course both old and new versions are upon the market, and the purchaser may take his choice, but his choice is frequently determined by the cheaper price at which the old version can be procured. There is therefore a decided financial handicap upon the new version, in addition to the prejudice in favor of the old, which still is found among a certain class. The various excellencies and defects of the several editions of the Bible before the *Times* reviewer are quite fully set forth, and the general criticisms made against the entire class are pertinent. The large circulation of that paper makes it unnecessary to repeat them here. Only the hope may be expressed that something may result from this discussion of the subject. There is urgent demand for another edition of the Bible than any which we have at present, and if it were properly prepared and published all other editions would be thrown into the background. Whatever the minor features of this new edition might be, there are certain major features which would be essential to its success. First, the text must be that of the Version of 1881, with the readings of the American Committee incorporated into the text; it is time to lay aside the Version of 1611. Second, a revised set of marginal references must be introduced. Third, a revised chronology should be placed along the margin. Fourth, a new set of "Helps" should be added which will be in accord with the assured results of present biblical study, a thing partly done in the new *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*. Dr. Schaff, in the preface to the fourth edition of his *Companion to the Greek Testament and Revised Version* (New York, Harpers, 1891), promised that the American Revision Committee, as soon as the agreement with the University Presses of England should expire, would issue an edition approaching the one here suggested, and adds: "It is

hoped that the authorized American edition of the New Testament will appear in 1894 or 1895, with the American Appendix incorporated in the text, and with chapter headings, parallel passages, and other auxiliaries necessary for popular use." This would be well as far as the New Testament is concerned, but the plan does not include the Old Testament, and is therefore incomplete. Presumably there must still further time elapse before the "University Presses" will permit a more useful edition of the Revised Old Testament to be published. Surely the sale of Bibles is sufficiently large to make such financial precautions unnecessary, even if the public welfare at this point may be disregarded by the publishers. But even the above-promised edition of the New Testament is now indefinitely put off. An inquiry to the *Sunday School Times* concerning it was referred to a member of the American Revision Committee, who replied with these words: "The edition of the Revised New Testament to which Dr. Schaff referred has had much preparatory work put upon it, but nothing definite can be stated in regard to the publication of it. The death of Dr. Schaff will, for obvious reasons, cause delay; and the few survivors of the American New Testament Company (only four in number) are all thronged with other duties." But it is too important a matter to go by default. Cannot the original American New Testament Committee, now consisting of but four members, be enlarged by the appointment of a sufficient number of new members so that the preparation of this new edition of the Bible can be pushed forward with all speed, and the publication of it follow at the earliest possible date? The need and demand for this are clear and imperative.

Book Reviews.

Die alttestamentliche Spruchdichtung. Von WOLF WILHELM GRAFEN BAUDISSIN.

This paper, which is the inaugural address delivered by Professor Baudissin on October 15, 1893, when entering on his duties as rector of the University of Marburg, deals mainly with the structure of the Book of Proverbs. The usual analysis into eight portions is adopted. The oldest parts, comprising those expressly ascribed to Solomon, are considered to be in the main pre-exilic. This opinion, which is less advanced than that of some recent critics, Kuenen for instance, is based principally on the following grounds: (1) The character of the references to kings which fits in better with the period of the house of David than with the time of the Diadochoi; (2) The allusion in 29:18 to prophetic vision as a fact of the present; (3) The point of view from which the observations are made, that of rewards and punishments in the earthly life; (4) The national prosperity which is implied, and the complete absence of the legal rigor of a later age, and of any tendency to speculation or mysticism. A few sayings may possibly have been composed by the great king whose traditional fame as a moral teacher occasioned the prefixing of his name to the whole. The remaining parts of the collection (excepting perhaps the praise of the model wife) cannot be put earlier than the Persian period. Chapter 30 and the first nine verses of chapter 31 may be of non-Israelitish origin. The readings are adopted which refer them to Massa, a region either in Arabia or the Hauran. The address includes also some valuable observations on the word "mashal," on the place of the mashal in Hebrew literature, and on the various forms of it which occur in this book, as well as some rather one-sided but striking remarks on the distinctive characteristics of the Hebrew mind and its part in the education of the world.

Bible Class Expositions. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. Matthew, 2 vols.; Mark; Luke. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, \$1.00 per volume.

Many intelligent Bible-school workers have come to question the wisdom of employing any helps whatever in the preparation of the lessons. This is indicative of a very strong reaction from the practice which prevailed almost universally a few years ago, of depending entirely upon "lesson-helps," "quarterlies," and "notes;" studying what men had said about the lesson

rather than the lesson itself. The result was that study in the Bible-school had become a thing almost unknown. The teacher read a list of questions, the scholar read a list of answers, and then teacher and scholar went their way under the delusion that they had been "studying" the Bible. All this is changed or changing. The cry "back to the Bible," is being answered by new and better methods of study. An indication of this change is found in the volumes before us. Help is given, but it is judicious help. Instead of an exegetical *potpourri*, compounded of ingredients good, bad and indifferent, we have a careful, clear, inspiring exposition. No student of geology would think of using a text-book made up of excerpts from the writings of geologists of all nations and times, yet some students of the Bible seem to fancy that in numbers there is wisdom. If this series shall serve to displace the alleged helps constructed on the "chowder" plan, it will not have been prepared in vain.

The expository method, employed in the preparation of these volumes, makes them valuable also for private reading and general study. There are many lovers of God's word who cannot attend the Bible school. Just now, special attention is being given to the needs of this class, and "home-study" departments are being organized in many schools. To the "shut in" ones, this series will bring not detached and fragmentary thoughts, but a consecutive and well-rounded treatment of the passages under consideration.

Dr. Maclaren's eminent qualifications for this work need not even a mention from us. No living preacher has a wider and more attentive hearing among thoughtful men and women, than the author of this series. He is pre-eminent as an expositor. He employs no tricks of speech, advances no startling theories; but with great spiritual insight, and in simple language, sets forth the truths of the sacred writings.

L. A. CRANDALL.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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THE greatest of all subjects is at present the subject of study throughout the Christian world. It is an occasion of general satisfaction that the arrangement of the International Sunday School Lessons permits an entire year to be devoted to a single subject,—*the Life of the Christ*. The possibility of gaining a comprehensive knowledge of the subject will incite many a student to do a piece of work which has not been possible in ordinary Sunday School work. The new material which has appeared as a result of fresh investigation and deeper research into the documents, and the better knowledge which we now possess of the times of Jesus, make it possible for those who are more scholarly inclined to study the subject as they have never before studied it. There seems good reason for us to suppose not only that the world at large will possess at the end of these twelve months a better conception of the life of Christ than has ever yet existed, but also that much new material will be contributed, on the basis of which it will be possible to arrive at conclusions more nearly true than any that have yet been reached. Work upon the subject might loosely be classified under the heads: The foreshadowings of the Christ; the times in which he lived, and the circumstances under which he did his work; the history of his life; his teachings; the life and teachings of Jesus, com-

pared with those of the representatives of other religions. At this time we may consider suggestions relating to the foreshadowings of the Christ.

THE same interest in the Old Testament predictions of the Messiah is not manifested by all of the New Testament writers. Some refer very sparingly to these anticipations of a Messianic kingdom; others seem to make them the foundation of their entire work. Of the four gospel writers, Matthew, for obvious reasons, deals most largely with this material. Again and again in particular events of the Savior's life, the evangelist sees the fulfillment of a prophecy of old. It makes some difference, of course, whether the event happened *in order that* the prophecy might be fulfilled, or *as an illustration* of the principle underlying the prophetic statement. The rigid interpretation of the conjunction, commonly translated, "in order that," would unquestionably furnish us a life of Jesus so mechanical and artificial as to seem to have been arranged simply to fill out a programme which had been prepared beforehand. Such a conception is very wide of the mark. God, acting in the history of a chosen people, revealing to them from time to time his will, dealing with them through all the centuries as a mediatory people, shapes this history in such a manner as that it anticipates in many particulars the principles, and indeed the events connected with the life of the Christ, through whom this great work, begun in Israel, was to be finished. From this point of view it is therefore not a strange thing to find analogies between the life of the Christ and the work of the prophets and kings who were raised up by God to do for their generations, in a small way, the work which, in the fullness of time, he was to accomplish for the world and for all ages. Injustice is done to the fundamental connection between the history of Israel and that of the Christ if one satisfies himself with comparing superficially a few events scattered here and there. It is true that when, on Palm Sunday, Jesus rode into Jerusalem upon an ass, it was done in accordance with the statement of the evangelist in fulfillment of the words of Zechariah. But an examination of the original passage¹ shows

¹ Zech. 9:9, 10.

that the prophet is describing the Messianic kingdom as a kingdom of peace; one whose king will ride upon an ass, the animal of peace, rather than upon a horse. It will be a time when the chariot and the battle bow shall be cut off. The king shall speak peace unto the nations, and his dominions shall be from sea to sea. The idea of peace was the thought sought to be conveyed by the words of the prophet; this was to be the distinctive and characteristic of the Messianic reign. But if Jesus had not ridden into Jerusalem in the manner described the prophecy would have been as truly fulfilled. The principle underlying the prophecy and the New Testament event was one and the same; and it is in this underlying principle that the passages found their harmony, rather than in the coincidence between the historical event and the poetical description of the prophet.

It is common to speak of the development of the divine revelation, and to represent it as having taken place gradually. This is a true representation. To each succeeding century there was made an addition to the truth which had been revealed concerning the deliverance which was to be worked out by God for humanity and through humanity. With the most liberal interpretation we may not ascribe to Moses many ideas concerning the future kingdom which can be called definite or distinct. They are, for the most part, still general. At the time of his death the line through which this deliverance was to be wrought out had been narrowed from humanity at large, with which it began, through Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to the tribe of Judah. The land which is to be the scene of redemption, Palestine, has been selected and is ready to be occupied. The means through which all this is to be accomplished had been indicated in outline. First of all a nation has been chosen and assigned an inheritance to which the territories of other nations are accommodated. This nation is taught that it is to serve as a priestly nation between God and the other nations of the world. It is taught also that it has a prophetic and royal function among other nations. Provision has at this time been made for the priestly order, the prophetic order, and the royal order

through which these ideas may be more distinctly represented. A conservative estimate of the material would find at the death of Moses the basis laid for the more particular work which was to follow. But when we think of the centuries that have passed from the creation of man to the death of Moses, we must concede that the existence of this minimum of Messianic truth shows the revelation to have been a very gradual one. The progress made during the next seven or eight centuries is also gradual, and when we collect the prophetic statements of all periods, and, having interpreted them according to their historical connection, realize how slight, after all, the anticipation was as compared with the reality when it had once presented itself, we are more than ever impressed with the fact that the preparation for the coming of the Messiah was above all things gradual.

It is interesting to note also that in this long period there were intervals of considerable duration in which no message of any kind was spoken. If, with the more conservative scholarship, we assign the essential idea of "the first gospel"¹ to the earliest period, there is a great gap between this utterance, whatever may have been its source, and the next. If, likewise, we assign the essential ideas of the patriarchal blessings to the period of the patriarchs themselves, there is another long protracted interval between these statements and those which are connected with the organization of the nation after its departure from Egypt. No one has ever discovered anything of a Messianic character in the Book of Judges. This, however, is explained by the narrative itself,² which tells us that the "word of the Lord was rare in those days." Unless we assign Psalms 2 and 45 to the period of Solomon no Messianic statement may be traced to his times. There is naturally occasion for surprise that Elijah and Elisha and Jonah make no reference to the ideal kingdom or in its characteristics. There are other prophets likewise whose writings have come down to us in which it is difficult to find anything which may be interpreted as Messianic.

¹ Gen. 3: 14, 15.

² Sam. 3: 1.

With this doctrine, as with others, certain periods were especially suited for its development. At certain times the minds of the people were lifted up to this great ideal, at others they had entirely lost sight of it.

To those who read these old predictions with the full light of the history, they may seem to be clear and definite. That, however, there was great indefiniteness may be assumed to be true. The fact that the ideas were revealed one by one meant in itself ambiguity and indefiniteness. Perhaps no better figure can be employed to express this than the comparison of the first rays of the morning sun with its brightness at high noon. The Old Testament times were in the times of early dawn; rays here and there were shooting forth. With each succeeding century the brightness increased and darkness was dispelled until the coming of the Christ when the sun in all its glory shone forth. An effort to find in the earliest prophetic statements the fully developed ideas of the New Testament itself, for example, the double nature of the Christ, from the point of view of a sound exegesis, must fail. Prophecy in its very nature is indefinite, and in general it is true that the more definite it seems to be, the more suspicious is its authenticity. Some minds, to be sure, find difficulty in satisfying themselves with that which is not perfectly clear. Such an attitude of mind, however, bespeaks lack of experience in scholarly work.

It is also worthy of note that at particular times the Messianic thought is given particular coloring. It is in the period of the United Kingdom that the conception of the Messiah as king and his dominion as a kingdom presents itself most strongly. How natural indeed that those who lived in the period when the kingdom was uppermost in the thoughts of men should describe this ideal thing of the future under the form of a kingdom. It is in the period of the Babylonian captivity, when the Israel which still remained faithful to Jehovah though deprived of temple and city and home, though forsaken even by God himself, though suffering indescribable suffering,—it is in this period that

the conception of the suffering Messiah is most prominent. And so it could be shown that the main thought from one century to another is colored by the circumstances of the times in which the thought is presented. This is entirely consistent with the idea that the history of Israel is an especially ordered history in connection with which great truths of revelation were to be disclosed.

BUT no one who studies historically the development of the various ideas which together make up the Messianic idea has failed to note that, after all, in spite of intervals and indefiniteness and local coloring, there is to be traced a regular and steady growth. The ideal placed before the minds of Israel by the greatest of the prophets, Moses, is never lowered, but steadily lifted with every step taken in the progress of history ; and one standing at the time when prophecy has ceased to be, before the fulfillment has yet appeared, loses sight of the gaps and local coloring, and sees only the unity which has characterized it all, the strength which it exhibits and the sublimity which it has attained.

THE most interesting of all is the uniqueness of this foreshadowing of the Christ. There being no such person as the Christ in the history of other ancient nations, there could be no actual foreshadowing of such an one in the literatures of these nations. And yet one would think that poets might have dreamed of such a kingdom even if it were never to be realized by those to whom they sang their dreams. Not so. Israel's literature stands alone among the sacred literatures of the world in presenting these wonderful anticipations of the new kingdom, a kingdom not made with hands. If no other evidence could be presented for the divine element in the Old Testament Scriptures, this would be sufficient. There is no exegesis which can throw out of these scriptures this strange and controlling element. The Messianic thought consists of a thousand threads which are interwoven with the history of Israel. In the union of these threads we find the unity and the conception of a new order of things, a new covenant, a new kingdom.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

By PROFESSOR J. S. RIGGS,
Auburn Theo. Seminary.

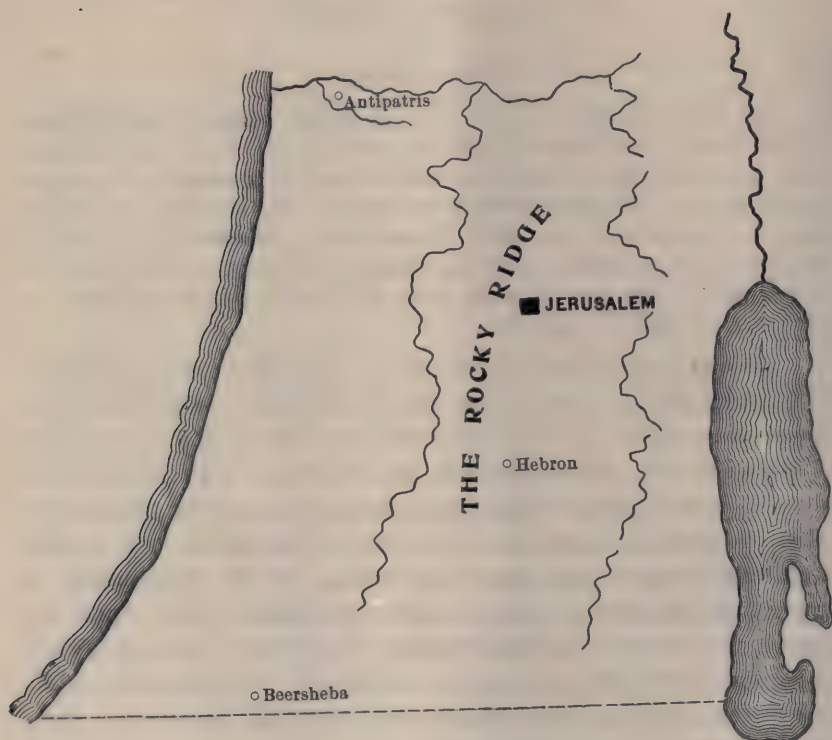
II.—JUDEA.

The divisions of the country.—Area of Judea.—Aspects of the territory.—The scenery not attractive.—A land for grazing rather than agriculture.—A fortress from the point of view of war.—The village of Bethlehem and its outlook.—The unpleasant city of Hebron.—The rich vineyards of that locality.—Pasturing in the South Country.—The wilderness of Judea.—A picture of utter desolation.—John the Baptist's and Jesus's experiences there.—The effect of the land of Judea upon the character of its inhabitants.—The glory of Judea in history.

Passing from a view of the land as a whole to the consideration of its parts, no more convenient division of western Palestine offers itself for our purpose than that found in the New Testament, viz., Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. The line of division is, indeed, more than geographical, but for that reason we shall be called to look for a moment to the relation of people and environment—the most interesting of all relationship in geographical study. Let us begin with Judea. This name by which we know the southern portion of the land has not always designated the same extent of territory. It has sometimes been the name of the whole land, including apparently parts beyond the Jordan (see Josephus Ant. XII., 4: 11); or again in a restricted sense it marks the southern portion of the mountain ridge below Samaria; or again it denotes the tract extending from the Mediterranean to the Jordan and the Dead Sea and from a line on the North passing just above Antipatris and deflecting northward near its western limit, to the mountain ridge below Beersheba. Its general outline in the time of Christ was this:

It had an area of 2,000 square miles, if we include the plain; without this and the Shephelah, both of which in the time of the

independence of the Jews were often not included, an area of about 1,350 square miles. It is upon the central ridge—in the hill country that all the great events of both the Old and New Testament history took place. This is really the Judea of our sacred narrative, hence in our study we shall look at that tract



nearly sixty miles long from its northern boundary to Beersheba and from fourteen to seventeen miles wide. This portion can be naturally divided into the hill country, the desert and the south country. Imagine yourself now upon the tower of the Mosque upon the height of Neby Samwil (Mizpah) a few miles north-east of Jerusalem. As a great picture the land of Judea reaches out in all directions below you. On the right, as you look toward the south, are the jagged gorges and steep passes which

lead down to the Shephelah and the plain. Beyond the low hills is the plain with all its fertility reaching to the sea, whose coast line is visible nearly to Carmel. South of you are the barren monotonous limestone ridges of the land itself rising one behind the other to the highest line near Hebron. Broad valleys lie between these which are as featureless as the mountains themselves. The scenery has little to commend it. One wonders how Judah even found an adequate habitation among these inhospitable rocks. In these stony valleys, however, some grain was raised, and we have only to go down to Bethlehem to see how the hill-sides were utilized. But, at best, compared with the lands we know, it is a weary land. Therein lies part of the secret of the history of its people. Over to our left lies Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives; on beyond in nearly the same direction lie the wastes of the desert, while all along the line of our eastern outlook runs the deep cleft of the Jordan and the mountains on the other side. The country itself is capable of strong defense and calculated to develop the sturdiest character in those who must defend it. Such is the view which may be had from more than one summit, of the characteristic features of Judea. Its people have been a pastoral rather than an agricultural people except as they have devoted themselves to the culture of the vine. Across the broken tract extending ten miles north from Jerusalem were the fortresses which once protected the northern frontier. These were placed so as to cover the roads leading up from the Jordan, down from the north, and up from the passes on the western side—Michmash, Geba, Ramah, Adasa, and Gibeon. Each name suggests memorable events of the days of Judah, or of the Maccabees. The road from Jerusalem to Hebron keeps well upon the centre of the ridge and presents only here and there any variation from that which meets us in the north. Among these "variations here and there" we must include Bethlehem and Hebron. The traveler turns from the main road about six miles from Jerusalem to enter the former city which lies upon a rocky promontory, extending toward the southeast. It is not difficult to imagine the feelings with which one comes to that spot which, traditional

though it be, may well be the real place of our Lord's birth. It is not in accord with our purpose to stop for any description of the buildings which cover it, or of the city in which it is. When one comes to the actual spot, he wishes the trumpery of the priests out of the way that he might see the place in its native simplicity, but there it is before you. Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century bears witness to it, and it is one of the few spots upon which different traditions converge. Once one could step out from it upon the brow of a hill that overlooks a beautiful valley and wide fields beyond. Here one may see what was perhaps evident in many parts of the land. At the bottom of the valley are grain fields and olive trees with their welcome shade. Shepherds are upon the distant hill slopes while all up the sides of the valley itself are the terraces upon which olive trees are planted. The scene—so peaceful and thrifty—is in striking contrast to the desolate hill-sides all around. Bethlehem is an attractive spot, both for its sacred associations and for its picture of thrift. The approach to Hebron gives the traveler some idea of the manner and value of the ancient vineyards. For a long way before reaching the city itself one rides past these vineyards in the gently sloping valleys or on the terraces of the mountain sides. Here, nearly 3,000 feet above the sea, the grapes are brought to perfection by the soft autumn mists. Nature all about is beautiful. Hebron itself, with its dirty, superstitious, fanatical Mohammedan population is the only blot upon the scene. The question has once and again been asked, "Was Ancient Judea no more fertile than it appears today?" Hebron gives answer for all those regions where the vine could be nurtured and where water and soil would give any chance for tillage. "On the whole plateau the only gleams of water are the pools at Gibeon, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron, and from Bethel to Beersheba there are not even in its spring-time more than six or seven tiny rills." It is only where the plateau breaks and a glen is formed that one can look for returns from labor. With the exception of the olive the whole land from Jerusalem to the vicinity of Hebron is treeless, and on beyond where the hills begin to descend toward the desert the same is true. The

South Country, with its uplands, has always been famous for grazing, and today thousands of cattle are found in this region. Water is gathered in cisterns, and to these the shepherds and herdsmen come with their flocks and herds, reproducing the scenes of the days of the patriarchs. Not an inhabited town appears in this whole region, a fact which brings to mind the prophecy of Jeremiah, "The cities of the south shall be shut up and none shall open them" (Jer. 13: 19). Beersheba, with its wells and nothing more, illustrates daily the scenes of centuries ago and the truth of this sad prediction. From this description of the gradual descent of the hills from Hebron to Beersheba it will be readily seen that Judea was exposed on her southern frontier, but rarely did an invasion come from this direction. It was easier to go up either by the way of the Dead Sea or westward to the Philistine plain; opposition in the mountains about Hebron was a serious matter. Chedorlaomer took the former route; the hordes of Islam the latter.

The third feature of Judea which merits especial attention is the wilderness along the western shore of the Dead Sea. It is thirty-five miles long by fifteen wide, and it is difficult to convey to one who has not seen it, its utter desolation. From the top of the great pyramid near Cairo the sharp line dividing the green, fertile land which the river has made and the silent lifeless waste of sand that stretches toward the horizon is traceable for miles. There is a vivid contrast between life and death. Not quite so vivid in its dividing line but more so in the actual picture of desolation is the desert of Judea. The Sahara has the gentle undulation of a great sea-bottom; Judea's wilderness is the hideous contortion of rock-ridges with gullies between them that blister in the sun and make hiding places in their parched caverns for wild beasts. The violent rents and racking that made the Dead Sea gorge itself are reflected in this broken, barren, blighted region of silence and death. As one well says of it: "It gave the ancient nations of Judea as it gives the mere visitor of today the sense of living next to doom; the sense of how narrow is the border between life and death; the awe of the power of God who can make contiguous regions so opposite in

character. 'He turneth rivers into a wilderness and water springs into a thirsty ground.' The desert is always in the face of the prophets, and its howling of beasts in the night watches, and its dry sand blow mournfully across their gorges, the foreboding of judgment." On its eastern side it ends in cliffs that strike down 2,000 feet to the shore of the Salt Sea. A wild, degraded tribe of Arabs inhabits its southern part, who, by their sudden and unfriendly appearances and as sudden disappearings, help us to understand some of the exploits of David when he wandered here as "a partridge on the mountains." Here, in this desert, John the Baptist prepared himself for his mission, going far enough into its solitudes to be alone with God; meditating under the bright stars of a Syrian sky upon the prophecy which was even then being fulfilled, and gathering into his thoughts some of the sternness of his environment that he might face the multitude with the cry: "Repent! prepare the way of the Lord!" Here the Lord himself met and defeated the prince of desolation—an event which invests this wild haggard region with imperishable interest.

As with a glance we have seen the land. What did it do for those who dwelt within its borders? The answer is not difficult. Its very isolation would develop a spirit of patriotic zeal in case those who dwelt within it were called to its defense. Once and again this was a necessity. Those mountain passes were formidable, but they could be taken unless protected; those barren rocks and shallow valleys would give nothing except to toil and thrift. Safety and sustenance were the outcome of courage and care. Both alike threw the people back constantly upon the necessity of dependence upon God. On those high hills they were kept with just that intermixture of trial and security as should fit them for his purpose. The glory of the temple, too, was on those hills, and that passionate patriotism which inspired the determined resistance of the Maccabees and the awful struggle at Massada tells us something of the character-material formed amid those heights. The shadow side of all this was that bigotry which reached its climax in the refusal to listen for one moment to the voice of the lowly Messiah.

As far as the life and ministry of our Lord recorded in the gospels are concerned the place of chief interest is, of course, Jerusalem. The picturesque little town of Bethany, just over the brow of the Mount of Olives; the Jericho road and Jericho itself; the town of Ephraim to which he fled from the Jews, and supposed to be northeast of Jerusalem in the wild hill country; the village of Emmaus, not surely identified, but placed by Conder at Khamasa, seven miles southwest of Jerusalem—these are the places mentioned in connection with his ministry in Judea. Bethlehem's honor we have already noted. That possible fuller record of which John speaks might have told us of journeys to the plain and to Hebron and round about Jerusalem, at any rate we can see the land as he saw it, and estimate its bearing upon those who, under favoring conditions, inhabited it. Its chief glory to our Master was that within its borders he was to accomplish the will of Him who set apart its mountains for the training of a people out of whose midst He, the Messiah, came. That, too, is its glory in our eyes.

“THE LAMB THAT HATH BEEN SLAIN FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD.”

By the REVEREND JESSE L. FONDA,
Providence, Ill.

Moral results are the final results in the universe.—Redemption is the evolution of moral character in the race.—This of necessity involves an experience and growth.—Mistakes at the first are inevitable.—Everything has to be tested, only so can the good be found.—Jesus brought the full development of the means for effecting this moral character.—At the last stage of things man's character will be so firmly established that a lapse will be morally impossible.

This verse indicates that the moral work for the race parallels the material; taking into account considerations developed since creation, we can claim that moral results were the final ones sought in making the world and the race. Then we may think that the moral planning was the first that was done. To create a physical world with its elements, verdure, animals and man, is really grand; but the creation of moral character in a race is infinitely grander and more worthy a spiritual creator.

We cannot think that it comports with divine wisdom to fore-ordain or predestinate a race to sin, and then by a superior skill in atonement save it; neither that the infinite mind should be surprised by a “fall” and institute an impromptu redemption to restore the fallen. But, by a well-conceived plan to create a race, and then to produce moral character in it by means adapted to the end, is truly dignified and worthy of deific thought.

The idea of evolution is so comprehensive that it can well be applied to this work: that redemption is simply the evolution of moral character in the race. One has also said that “redemption is creation”, which expresses the idea to be brought out.

Speaking modestly and reverently, we think that it was impossible for God to create a race with moral character right out of hand. A father can buy for his boy a whole library of scientific works, but cannot give him knowledge; he can provide

him with a chest of tools, but not with skill to use them. These come by individual effort, choice and purpose. So with moral character: the Creator can endow a race with all spiritual powers necessary, but the being himself must gain the skill in using them. Moral character, in this view, is simply skill in moral perception and choosing; experience in discerning good as opposed to evil, and in choosing the good and rejecting the evil.

The first ones of the race were perfectly innocent in the garden. They had a knowledge of God, some simple commands, but no experience with the opposite and no decided choice of good and God for reasons of their own origination. The insinuating tempter came to them with a very plausible plea casting doubt upon the commands that they were under, and they did not know of their own proving but what his statements were true. So they disobeyed, ate, and were driven, much to their surprise, out of the garden. The fact of their ignorance did not affect their responsibility; it was a misfortune, but unavoidable, for they must learn of themselves, from their own individual experience, to hold to God and his commands in spite of every enticing promise that can be made. They had the power to resist, but the knowledge and deeply laid preference, on their own responsibility, they did not have. So they were driven out, and the training of the race to produce moral character began.

Without going into details, men as a race have tried almost everything in life and have proved it of themselves to be either right or wrong. They began with the grossness of the antediluvians, then tested the orgies of the Babylonians, the culture of the Greeks, the law and legions of the Romans, the militarism of Napoleon, and the wealth of today. It is the same lesson, to learn by experience whether they are good or not. The good, righteousness, truthfulness, benevolence, have not been tried thoroughly by the world as a whole, but these moral traits are fast coming to the front.

The Jewish nation in its inception was to prove the safety and value of following the true God as opposed to Baal and Moloch. They made sorry work of it, and not until the captivity did they

fully prove the truth in it. Then Pharisaism sprang up; and it has been proved that that is not good, and the race as a whole is against it although not entirely free from it.

We think that this American nation had a mission in civil and religious liberty, to prove beyond a doubt that such liberty is best for the world.

When Jesus came, there was the full development of the means for producing this moral character; this moral creation of the race had reached a definite stage. His coming, as a whole, showed more fully God's redemptive or creative purpose; His teachings filled the minds of men with divine truths about character, necessary to character; his death revealed the height and depth of the infinite sincerity of the Father in the matter, and the outpouring of the day of Pentecost fully invested the race with the spiritual powers necessary for the complete work. This Gospel did not do the work for man, but dwelt in him, helping him to do it. Jesus is the model, and the Spirit uses Him in His work on the race. He takes the things of Christ and shows them unto us; He is "formed within, the hope of glory," that is, the exalted character; we are to "put on the Lord Jesus"; "to be found in Him, not having any righteousness of our own"; for us "to live in Christ." All are to be brought to Him as the model and standard.

When the last things shall come to pass, all works shall have been judged, death and hades cast into the lake of fire, the great red dragon bound and cast into the abyss, then all rule and authority other than God's will be abolished, God will receive the kingdom and be all in all, and the race, the saints, presented, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, before the throne of his glory with exceeding joy. The Savior shall receive all praise, glory and honor, for he was slain and has redeemed us and made us kings and priests unto God and his Father. The human race then will have demonstrated beyond all possibility of a doubt that God's good is true, and all evil is false. Man's moral character will have become so settled and firm that no temptation which could be devised could turn it aside or draw its notice in the least. Men can then be trusted for all eternity

with any message or work that the kingdom may need and it will surely be accomplished. God shall lead them by fountains of living waters, and they shall be sons worthy of the Infinite Father and his great loving heart.

This makes a complete plan, worthy of the dignity of the highest moral being that we can conceive, worthy of the counsels of eternity, and of "the Lamb that hath been slain from the foundation of the world."

HINDUISM'S POINTS OF CONTACT WITH CHRISTIANITY.

By MERWIN-MARIE SNELL.

IV. SALVATION.

Variety of salvation-theories.—a *The Goal* : terrestrial felicity, heaven, share in divine prerogatives ; union with God ; realization of non-separateness ; deliverance from matter ; repose in the Supreme ; eternal salvation ; occult powers.—b *The Way* : three *mārgas*, or paths ; path of works ; path of knowledge ; path of faith ; also "path of enjoyment," Mohammedan influence ; materialistic hedonism ; predestination and grace ; all paths generally recognized ; veneration of the guru ; pure theism ; Antinomianism.—c *God and the Savior* : atheists ; a temporary God ; names for the One God ; analogy with Swedenborgianism ; names for the Savior ; the Vaishnava Blessed Lady ; the Divine Infant.—d *The future life* : reincarnation ; plurality of worlds ; salvation positive, not negative.—e *Summary and comparison* ; the *mārgas* in Christendom ; Christian hopes ; spheres of heaven and hell : Rationalistic explanation of them ; the atonement ; fruitfulness of this field of research.

All the higher religions hold out to their followers a certain ideal of life by a realization of which the fullness of beatitude is alone to be obtained. They agree in teaching that there is some state different from and superior to that in which the mass of mankind find themselves, into which men are privileged to enter by the use of certain prescribed means, exterior or interior. This state is usually described as salvation or liberation, and the means of its attainment, taken together, as the way of salvation, the means of grace, or the holy path.

Neither the end nor the means are the same in all religions. On the contrary, there is usually great difference on both points among the sects belonging to the same religious group, and even among the adherents of the same religion.

Hinduism, with its richness of development and its wonderful syncretism, contains within itself all the principal type-forms of the various rival theories of salvation. Unlike its daughter

Buddhism, it teaches, and has always taught, in almost all its forms, the doctrine of the existence of a soul-entity, a spiritual being in man distinct from the body and surviving its death and decay. But, both regarding its ultimate destiny and the way of attaining it, the various schools and sects have widely disagreed.

a *The Goal.*

The ancient Vaidik hope seems to have been, like that of most primitive systems, a terrestrial felicity; the Nyâyikas and Vai'seshikas, despairing of earthly happiness, labored to become independent of the miseries of temporal existence and to reach the bliss of an eternal heaven; the Pa'supatas and the Mahe'svaras thought rather of a personal relation to God, and a participation in his attributes begun in this world and consummated in the hereafter, and they are followed by the Lingayâts and other modern 'Saivas. The Madhvâ'câryas (Dvaitâdvaita-vâdins), whose hope is a similar one, expect in the heaven of the Vishnu to be assimilated to him by "likeness of form, visible presence, proximity and equal power." The other Vaishnava Vedântins, (Râm-ânujas and other Vi'sishtâdvaita-vâdins; Vallabhâ'câryas and other, Vi'suddhâdvaita-vâdins;) emphasize still more the notion of affectionate union with God, and some of them look forward to a complete absorption in him (*sayukta*); and the Vedântins of 'Sankara's school make the realization of the non-separateness of the soul from Brahman their one sole aim. The Sâṅkhya atheists labor simply for the extrication of the serene spirit from the turmoils of restless nature (*prakriti*); and the Pâtanjalas (theistic Sankhyas) sought at the same time a repose in the Supreme Spirit.

All these sects and schools believe in an eternal salvation; and so do almost all other Hindus, with the exception of one of the recent reforming sects, the Ârya Samâj, which is chiefly distinguished by the two peculiarities of exalting the Karma-kanda or practical section of the Vedas (Mantras and Brâhmanas) at the expense of the Jnâna-kanda or speculative section (the Upanishads), and limiting the duration of moksha to a single kalpa, or cosmic period.

The circle of Hindu aspiration is in a manner completed by the 'Sāktas, who, like the Pre-Brāhmanic and Old Brāhmanic Āryans, aim at a terrestrial good, though a preternatural instead of a natural one. Their religious observances are largely directed towards the acquisition of occult powers and other temporary worldly advantages, as are the frightful austerities of the Tapasvi or self-torturers, and the elaborate discipline of the Yogis.

b *The Way.*

There are usually said to be three chief methods for the attainment of the blessedness, either here or hereafter, which is the object of religious endeavor. These are, the *karma-mārga*, or path of works, the *jñāna-mārga*, or path of knowledge, and the *bhakti-mārga*, or path of faith or devotion. The first is chiefly taught in the Mantras and Brāhmanic, the second in the Upanishads, and the third in the Purānas, the Bhagavat Gita, and especially the Bhakti Sutras.

The works which the *karma-mārga* requires are either ritualistic, ascetic, or moral practices, although the term is given a special application to the first-named. In the old Vedic and Brahmanic periods, and by the followers of the Purva Mimāṃsā in all periods, a first importance was ascribed to the due performance of set rites and ceremonies on their proper occasions, albeit a certain 'sraddhā, or confidence in their efficacy, was necessary, and this ceremonialism is also common among the lower classes of the unsectarian Hindus.

The Sāṅkhyas and Pātañjalas sought liberation by a scientific course of ascetic self-discipline. This is practiced in various forms by Ādvaitin Hindus, and is divided into two chief forms, the *rāja yoga*, the object of which is spiritual progress, and the *hātha yoga*, which is directed towards the attainment of occult powers and other temporary and worldly advantages. The first is commonly followed by the Dandīs and other Da'snāmīs ('Sankarā'cārya's sannyāsis) and the members of the eighteen branches of the Yogi order. The *rāja yoga* is considered to belong to the way of knowledge; but the *hātha yoga*, though differing little from it, should certainly, on account of its motive, be

counted under the way of works. There is a small group of sects, of which the Bâbâ Lâlis are a type, which have been so Mohammedanized as to be fully as much Sufi as Hindu in their character; and these are characterized by an asceticism very closely akin to that of the Christian mystics.

Several of the later Vaishnava or syncretic (Mohammedanized) sects—Charan Dâsis, Sadhus, Satnâmis, 'Sivanârâyanis—lay an almost exclusive emphasis on the necessity of a high and pure morality, as do some of the modern theistic Samâjas.

The jñâna-marga, or way of knowledge, is particularly affected by the 'Saiva sects, which understand by it a knowledge of God, and by the Sânkaras, who mean a knowledge of the non-separateness of the soul and the universe from Brahman.

The bhakti-mârga, or way of faith, is characteristic of the Vaishnava religion (or religious group), which considers all philosophies and sects heretical that maintain the preëminence of works or knowledge. It was taught by the Pân'carâtras and Bhâgavatas, the ancient sects so often referred to in the inscriptions and in the Mahâbhârata and some of the Purânas and other works written before the Neo-Brahmanical revival of the seventh century. *Bhakti* usually means a loving devotion and trust, which attaches the soul warmly to God, by whose grace (*prasâda*) the soul is saved. There is sometimes combined with it a system of self-training called bhakti yoga, calculated to awaken and perpetuate devotion; but it is contrary to the spirit of the bhakti-mârga to expect salvation as a reward for any effort of one's own.

The way of faith is followed also by a few isolated sects not belonging to the Vaishnava group, for example, the new Deva Dharma, a small but zealous society of strongly syncretic tendencies, the founder or Deva Guru of which is still living.

Sometimes a fourth path is mentioned, the *pushti-mârga*, or "path of enjoyment," which is characteristic of the Vallabhâ'cârya sect and some of its offshoots. It is not, however, really distinct from the bhakti-mârga, but merely an extreme or perverted form of it. Since faith and divine grace are all-sufficient, what need is there for ascetic or moral exertions or other works? These

sects depart therefore from the habitual restraints of Hindu life, even those preserved by other Vaishnavas; eating meat and drinking wine, and surrounding their religious teachers, who are householders (*grihastha gurus*), with every luxury, instead of expecting of them a life of celibacy and self-denial. In these particulars they resemble very much the Kojā sect of Shiite Mohammedism which has its headquarters in the same province (Gujerat) where they are chiefly found, and from which many of its original adherents were probably drawn. They have shared with them also the suspicion of having allowed their joyous religion of love to degenerate into an unworthy license.

The 'Sunya-vādins, and their predecessors the 'Cārvakas, who believe in no God, no spirit, no hereafter, and no law, and whose only moral principle is to enjoy the present moment to the full, might be considered as following the *pushti-mārga* more literally than anyone else, if those who are going nowhere could be said to follow any path thither!

The doctrine of *bhakti*, i. e., salvation by faith, has given rise to the same controversy regarding the respective shares of God and man in the redeeming work which raged so long in Christendom. Not only the Vaishnavas but the 'Saivas, many of whom give almost as much practical importance to devotion and grace as if they did not profess to follow the "way of knowledge," are divided into predestinarian and free-will schools. The Tenkalai school in the Rāmānuja or Srī Vaishnava church holds that men are saved purely by the divine choice and grace, while the Vadagalais assert that human coöperation is necessary and that it is possible for man to merit. In like manner, the Nakulisa Pa'supatas maintained that God is "a cause independent of our actions," and the orthodox 'Saivas (Mahe'svaras) that he is "a cause dependent on our actions." The Madhvā-cāryas lay great stress upon obedience to the ten commandments of their moral law, which is not very dissimilar from the Mosaic code; while the 'Caitanyas intoxicate themselves with a divine love which fills the whole horizon of their spirits.

Many of the 'Sāktas, or worshippers of the female personifications (*Saktis*) of the powers or energies of nature, should prob-

ably be counted among the followers of the bhakti-mârga. Indeed, the members of the right-hand sects of this class, that is, those who observe the usual moral restraints, are frequently known as Bhâktas, or faithists, the very name which is applied to the more earnest of the Vaishnava devotees. The left-hand, or antinomian 'Sâktas must be ranked as followers of the "way of pleasure" in the most literal sense, as they believe that flesh, wine, women, songs and dances are the chief instruments of grace, symbols of emancipation, and means to psychic power, and all of these are actually used in their secret *séances* ('*cakras*, =circles).

There are but few Hindus who believe in one of these ways to the absolute exclusion of the others. Most Vaishnavas admit that the way of works and the way of knowledge may be useful for some and do actually have certain beneficial results, though they cannot lead to the heaven of Vishnu and the supreme union with the Belovéd of Souls. Most of the absolute âdvaitins ('Sânkaras) tolerate the way of works and the way of devotion as stepping-stones to the true path.

The Sannyâsis of Sankara, although the very foremost preachers of the way of knowledge, have a tender devotion to Mahadevî or Maha-Mâyâ, the Great Mother, the Bride of God, the personified creative energy.

The so-called theistic sects, which include most of the *panthas* or later Vaishnava sects (the earlier ones still extant are called *sampradâyas* or traditions), seem to combine the three ways to such a degree that it is difficult to say to which they should be assigned. The Nânak Shâhîs, or Sikhs, may perhaps be said in a general way to follow the way of (moral) works, the Kabir Panthis the way of knowledge, and the Dâdu Panthis the way of faith.

But this whole group, which contains many subdivisions (twelve in the Kabir group, fifty-two in the Dâdu group, and seven in the Nânak), has been so Mohammedanized that although it sometimes retains features of the Pauranik mythology, and is nominally Vedântin in philosophy, having even furnished some great expositors of the system of 'Sankara, it is on its practical

side a pure Unitarianism, whose only preoccupation is the spiritual and moral service of the one true God whom Hindus and Mohammedans alike adore.

Almost all Hindus do, as a matter of fact, engage regularly in ceremonial observances, both of the Vaidik, Pauranik, and Tantrik rites, profess to obey the moral law, claim the highest religious knowledge, and manifest devotion. Everyone, whether or not he belongs to any definite sect, is counted as a member of one of the five great cultus-divisions of Hinduism, according as he identifies Vishnu, 'Siva, 'Sakti (Mahadevî), Gane'sa or Surya with the Deity, and also, in most cases, has among the lesser gods or angels some *ishta devatâ*, or preferential object of devotion, and other patron saints, as it were, whom he distinguishes with a special homage. The followers of the absolute âdvaita look upon all such as merely aids to concentration in the earlier stages of the spiritual life; but most of the Vaishnavas give them a sort of dulia, and even, in the case of Lakshmi and her incarnations, hyper-dulia,—such as Catholics render to the saints and Mary. The Jangamas and other 'Saivas are similar in their monotheism and their saint-worship, and the 'Sâktas, whose practical spirit is pantheistic, give to the Great Mother herself a supreme adoration and a duly graduated honor to her myriads of partial manifestations.

Among the vulgar non-sectarian populace, especially in the country districts, there is doubtless to be found a true idolatry which renders to the being that the image represents, or to which the shrine is dedicated, an indiscriminating worship intended to purchase material benefits from a limited local god.

Non-sectarian Hindus honor the Brâhman caste more uniformly than the members of the various Vaishnava, 'Saiva and 'Sâkta churches, which generally oppose caste distinctions and, for the most part, render to the guru, or spiritual director, whatever be his extraction, an extravagant devotion which in some cases is practically and even confessedly greater than that paid to the Deity. This guru-worship is, perhaps, extremest among the Vallabhâ'câryas and the Kartâ Bhâja branch of the

Caitanyas; but is wholly rejected by the Spashta Dâyakas, another offshoot from the latter sect.

Some sects, like the Nyâyikas of Bengal, the Kabir and Dadu Panthis, the original Charân Dâsis, the Nânak Shâhis (in a great measure) and especially the Sadhus or Puritans, and the 'Sivanarâyanis, impose no ceremonial obligations, forbid the use of images and religious objects, and discard almost entirely the Vaidik and Pauranik mythologies. These, which, it will be observed, mostly belong to what I have called the syncretic group, accord no worship to any being save the Supreme, and deplore the practice of magic.

We have already seen that some of the extremer Vaishnava and 'Sâkta sects have a tendency to throw off moral restraints, or at least to reduce to a minimum the ethical side of religion in their zeal for the emotional side. This applies particularly to the Vallabhâ'câryas, and the Sâhuja branch of the 'Caitanyas, and the Vâmâ'câris or left-handed 'Sâkta sects. There is some reason to believe, although this is a direct reversal of the view prevalent among our leading Indianists, that all the sects of the left-hand were derived from earlier Buddhistic sects of the Kâla 'Cakra group, who, like most of the modern Buddhists of Nepâl and Tibet, professed and practiced an absolute antinomianism based upon the philosophical nihilism of the Madhyâmika school.

Just as the "theistic" group eschews ceremonial and the ultra-'Sâktas and materialists ('Sunya-vâdins) ethics, so we find knowledge despised by some members of the Bhakti group, especially, perhaps, the 'Caitanyas, and devotion rejected as degrading by many of the lay Kaivalyâdvaitins. The Kâtha Yoga and the Tantrika magic are naturally obnoxious, not only to the syncretic sects, but to the more spiritual-minded followers of the ways of faith and knowledge, while to the followers of the true old Vaidik karma-mârگا they appear a dangerous and evil innovation.

The monastical Kaivalyâdvaitins (I refer especially to 'Sankarâ'cârya's sannyâsis) are broader in sympathy than any other Hindus, and are the most unifying element of Hinduism; believing, as already remarked, that all the ways of salvation are good,

and all the objects of devotion useful, at least as preliminary means for those who are not ready for the way of knowledge and a life of conscious oneness with Brahman which needs no idols or ceremonials or spiritual direction and which has passed beyond all hopes or fears.

c God, and the Savior.

The followers of the Purva Mimânsâ expected to attain to blessedness by the mechanical operation of the Vaidik ceremonial, just as the modern followers of the Kâtha Yoga and the Tantrika magic look for the attainment of occult powers by the inherent potency of their ascetic discipline, in the one case, or of their *mantras* (short sentences and syllables) and *mudras* (passes and gestures) in the other. Both are practically atheistic, though the one may call God Brahma and the others I'svara or Mahadevi.

Many of the 'Sankara Vedântins have a personal devotion for the Lord (I'svara) who is to them a personal God, but they consider him only a part of the universe of Mâyâ, and look upon the one eternal absolute Being, the impersonal Brahma, as identical with their own inmost self (*âtman*); so that they, too, would be judged as atheists, to all intents and purposes, by most occidental thinkers. This applies to some extent to the sannyâsis, but still more to the lay followers of the system, among whom are the greater part of the more scholarly Brâhmins; although it must be admitted that many, if not most, who belong to this school in philosophy are practically theistic in religion.

The followers of the true (dualistic) 'Saiva sects all worship God under the name of 'Siva, and the statement is habitually made that they recognize no avatâras or divine incarnations. There is no question, however, that 'Siva himself is considered by his votaries to have lived on the earth for a certain period in human form; and many beautiful legends cluster around his hermit life on the Himâlayas, and his home life with Pârvatî his bride, the incarnation of his own divine beauty and love.

The Vaishnavas are distinguished by their identification of Vishnu, or some one of his forms, with the Supreme Being. The older of the true Vaishnava sects worship Vishnu as the one only

supreme personal God, and one or more historic or legendary personages, usually the heroes and heroines of the ancient epics, as his incarnations.

The will or grace of God is personified by them as his 'Sakti or bride, Lakshmi, and in her incarnations she becomes a sort of Hindu Blessed Virgin. The latter remark is especially true of the Rāmānujas and other more moderate sects; in some of the rest she is placed on a level with God, and among the Rādhā Vāllabhas, and several branches of the 'Caitanyas, and some other minor offshoots of the Vaishnava stock, she is worshipped as the very essence of the Deity. The Sakhi Bhāvas go so far as to make her incarnation as Rādhā their exclusive divinity.

The principal incarnations of Vishnu venerated in the Vaishnava sects are *Kṛishna*, and Rāma, the hero of the Ramāyana; and the chief incarnations of Lakshmi are Sitā, the wife of Rāma, and Rādhā, the favorite of *Kṛishna*. The Rāmānujīyas venerate chiefly Rāmā and Sitā, but also *Kṛishna* and Rukmini, his chief wife, ignoring Rādhā; the Rāmānandīs and their offshoots venerate Rāmā and Sitā; the Madhva'cāryas give equal veneration to *Kṛishna* and Rāmā, and honor Sitā; the Nimavats venerate *Kṛishna* and Rādhā; etc., etc. I have simply indicated the relative popularity of the incarnations in the sects mentioned; most of them are divided into cultus-groups, characterized by the preferential or exclusive worship of one or another form or incarnation of the Deity or his 'Sakti, or both.

The lives and words of these manifestations of God in the flesh, as recorded in the Ramāyana, the Mahābhārata and various legendary collections, are tenderly studied by their votaries, who have for them the same personal devotion that many Christians have for Jesus Christ.

A curious phenomenon which the development of Hinduism presents is the gradual identification in certain sects of an incarnation of God with the Eternal Deity itself.

The foremost of the Vaishnava sects, as well as the most sober and typical, is that founded by Rāmānuja (the author of the Vi'sishtādvaita philosophy) and often called the 'Sri Vaishnava. As has already been observed, it has a preferential devo-

tion to Râma. A very early schism in this sect resulted in the Râmânanda sect, from which have sprung a large number of other sects. The Râmânandas have a still more pronounced devotion to Râma, as the chief incarnation of Vishnu for the world's salvation. But the most important of the derivative sects are the group commonly called theistic, which has resulted from a fusion of Râmânanda with Shiite or Sufi (Mohammedan) thought. In these sects—notably the Kabir Panthis, and the Dâdû Panthis—the idea of a divine incarnation is expressly rejected, but nevertheless they, for the most part, call the Supreme Being, *i. e.* the personal God of Christianity and Islam, or, among the philosophers, the Brahman of the Sâṅkaras, by the name of Râma! In other words Râma has done in this current of religious thought exactly what Jesus Christ is alleged by the Swedenborgians to have actually and objectively done—gradually cast off the lineaments and attributes and substance of humanity and become wholly merged into the infinite Godhead. The historic traditions and associations have wholly disappeared, and the name alone, which had been endeared by so many centuries of pious usage, remains to testify of the divine-human Savior and Mediator whom their ancestors worshipped.

Something analogous, and yet in its outcome very dissimilar, seems to have taken place among the *Kṛishnaite* group of Vaishnavas. The Vallabha'câryas, the 'Caitanyas, and several sects derived from them, are in the habit of identifying *Kṛishna* with the Supreme Deity in his eternal form, and in some cases even go so far as to make Vishnu himself one of his manifestations, reversing the normal and historic view. It is possible, however, that this may be partly the language of extravagant devotion and not a deliberate theological dictum. At any rate, these sects have adhered most tenaciously to the incarnation idea, and even given it a new emphasis. Vallabha (in 1520 A. D.) introduced the worship of the Bâla Gopâla, or Infant *Kṛishna*—corresponding to the Bambino of the Italian Christians—which is the chief object of devotion among his sectaries. Rana'chor, the Boy *Kṛishna*, is the favorite of the Mirâ Bâi sect, an offshoot of the Vallabhas founded by a woman of that name.

There are other sects, not hitherto mentioned under this head, which do not have the *avatâra* (divine incarnation) doctrine. Among some of the theistic (syncretic) sects even the name of *Râma* has well-nigh gone out of use; I refer especially to the seven branches of the *Nânak Shâhis*, or Sikhs, who usually call God indifferently either *Hari* (*Vishnu*) or *Allah*. This was foreshadowed among the *Kabir Panthis*, who call him either *Ali* (originally the Shiite God-Incarnate) or *Râma*.

There are in use among many of the sects other names for the Supreme Being which have no special sectarian significance or association. *I'svara* (the Lord) is applied by the '*Sânkaras* to *Brahmâ*, the personal Logos, by the '*Saivas* universally to '*Siva*, and by the *Râmânujas* and other of the more sober-minded *Vaishnavas* to *Vishnu*. It is the only designation which the *Nyâyikas* of Bengal allow to be applied to Deity. The terms *Paramapurusha*, the Supreme Spirit, and *Parame'svara*, the Supreme Lord, are also commonly used; by the *Kabir Panthis*, and doubtless by many others, especially those who have been influenced by the *Pâtanjala* philosophy.

d *The Future Life.*

The statement is commonly made that all Hindu sects, with the exception of some of the recent Anglicized *Samâjas*, believe in the reincarnation of souls. I am not yet fully prepared to challenge it, although I see much reason for doubting its correctness, at least in this sweeping form. It is certain that the doctrine is held by the *Kaivalyâdvaitins* and by the general mass of the non-sectarian population; and it is probably taken for granted, though certainly not emphasized, by most of the '*Saiva*, '*Sâkta* and true *Vaishnava* sects. In some of the syncretic sects it has apparently disappeared, and I suspect that several denominations of *Vaishnavas* consciously reject it.

Nevertheless, it does run as a deep underchord through most of the religious life of India. The liberation at which the sects of Hinduism aspire is doubtless, like that of the *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*, not only deliverance from the ills of the present life, but from the miseries of rebirth. But it is to be noted that

rebirth, either in the Hindu and Jaina sense, or in the Buddhistic one, never has a necessary reference to a renewed existence upon this planet. These Orientals have always believed in a plurality of worlds, and have never made any sharp distinction between life on our earth and that on any other, any more than between the human state and others above and below it. The world is simply one of a countless number of transitory dwelling-places, and humanity one of many diverse states of existence; and reincarnation refers to a chain of being, the links of which may lie anywhere—in any world and in any state. The hells and heavens which have been variously named and enumerated by different religions and schools and sects and individuals are, for the most part, simply worlds and states more or less happy than ours, but no more places of reward and punishment, and no less “spheres of probation,” than this earth itself or any of the states which it contains.

Most Hindus believe that a continual pilgrimage from one to another of these states and abodes until the destruction of the world is the lot of those who do not attain salvation or liberation; but their real inspiration to religious endeavor is, in almost every case, save in that of the atheistic Sâmkhyas, not a negative but a positive hope. Even the Vedântin, who aspires to a realization of his non-separateness from Brahman, is more drawn by the fascination of that attributeless Immensity, that ineffable mystery of Being and Knowledge and Bliss, than driven by the thought of the worthlessness and deceitfulness of the life from which he flees. And the great masses of the Kaivalyâdvaitins even, feeling that the way of knowledge is too hard for them, or too much attached to the delights of conscious individuality, are content to aim at a rebirth in some happier world, like the ordinary Buddhist, who prefers to be born out of the heart of a lotus in the Tushita heaven rather than to strive for the remote and dubious felicity of Nirvâna.

The followers of the way of faith usually look forward to an eternal heaven of supreme union with God, far above the universe of change and illusion; but sometimes to a lower one, like that of the 'Saivas, which affords a participation in the power of God

instead of an enjoyment of his embrace. The 'Caitanyas recognize both of these: Vaikuntha, the heaven of *Krishna*, and Svarga or paradise. Vaikuntha is called by most Vaishnavas the heaven of Vishnu, and some of the Krishnaites who identify *Krishna* with God call his heaven Goloka (*i. e.*, "the Place of Cows," a sort of celestial Arcadia) and make it the supreme and eternal one.

e Summary and Comparison.

In innumerable particulars the salvation-doctrines of Hinduism, in its various forms, suggest those of Christendom. In the development of Christianity, too, the three *mârgas*, though unnamed, have been interwoven as closely as in that of the Vaidika group of religions. Even the order of their successive predominance has not been altogether dissimilar. The moralism of the Apologists—compare the Brahmanic karma-*mârga*—was succeeded by Gnosticism, the Catholic gnosis of the Alexandrines, and the Neo-Platonism of the Pseudo-Areopagite, all closely allied to the *jñâna-mârga* of the Vedântins, and perhaps connected with it by obscure historical threads; then came the ritualism and sacerdotal mysticism of the dark ages—the karma-*mârga* again and in its more typical form; then the gentle personal heart-mysticism (*bhakti-mârga*) of Bernard and Francis, lasting on through the centuries side by side with the way of knowledge of the Carmelite mystics and the way of works taught by the Jesuits.

In Protestantism we find them all again under other guises: the way of knowledge in the old Lutheran scholasticism and other kinds of rigid orthodoxy, and, in a form more like the Oriental, in the transcendental wing of rationalism; the way of works in the dry formalism so prevalent in all the state churches, the ritualism of the Oriental schismatics, and the ethical zeal of one school of liberalism; and the way of faith or devotion in the more earnest of Evangelical Christians, especially, perhaps, within the Methodist and Baptist churches, and in a rare mystical type of Unitarians. The way of enjoyment is represented in Christendom by many antinomian and materialistic sects, past and present.

We have had kindred hopes, as well as kindred methods. Many of the sub-Apostolic Christians and modern liberals have aimed, like the people of the Vaidik times, at a terrestrial felicity; the Gnosticizing and Platonizing Christians of the Nicene Age, and many of the mediæval mystics, like the 'Sâṅkara Vedantins, at a merging of the individual self into the unity of the Absolute; and the ritualistic and pietistic Catholics, and orthodox Protestants in general, like the Mimāṅsâs, 'Saivas and Vaishnavas, at an eternal heaven, the chief blessedness of which, to the Bernadine-Franciscan school of Catholics and the devouter Evangelicals, as to the better class of Vaishnavas, is in the complete fruition of a Savior's love.

The Hâtha Yoga and the Tantrika system, with the magical powers at which they aim, are represented in Christian history by some of the old Gnostics, the line of occultists which preserved their succession, and a few thaumaturgic schools of the present day, with which many of the Spiritists and Theosophists must be classed.

The numerous heavens and hells of the Hindu churches have their counterparts, not only in the Gnostic cosmogonies and in those of some modern sects like the New Churchmen and Spiritists and Mormons, but also in the various spheres of punishment and purification and reward to be met with in the Catholic traditions and speculations which recur with numberless variations in many quaint long-forgotten theological tomes and have found a classic expression in Dante's *Divina Comedia*. Swedenborg rationalizes this conception by his theory that souls after death are drawn together according to their affinities, so that as many centers of aggregation are produced as there are spiritual types and planes of moral elevation.

In some of the Vaishnavas there is to be found the same tender personal devotion to the God-Incarnate, as the one all-sufficient Savior, that characterizes the most genial phases of Christian orthodoxy. But in the background of the Hindu's faith have always lurked the images of other men no less divine, and the redemptive function has been performed by teaching, inspira-

tion, conquest of enemies, or the direct infusion of grace, and not by any atoning sacrifice. If we had gone farther back into the mysteries of Âryan antiquity there would have loomed before us the figure of the primeval male sacrificing himself for the deliverance of the universe from chaos; but the idea of an atonement seems to appear in modern Hindu thought only under the symbol of the throat of 'Siva, blue with the poison which would have destroyed the world.

I have barely hinted at the chief resemblances between the Hindu and Christian religions, contenting myself with roughly sketching a few of the tenets of the Hindu sects and schools which afford the fairest opportunity for comparison.

It would take volumes to exhaust the subject, and in the present state of Indianistic science it remains full of obscurities and uncertainties; but enough has been said to show that there is here a most fertile field for investigations the result of which would furnish priceless data to the student of the comparative history of religions, and many *points d'appui* for intelligent Christian propagandism.

THE DELUGE IN OTHER LITERATURES AND HISTORY.¹

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

The outside stories.—Theories presented in explanation of the facts narrated in the deluge stories.—Comparison of the biblical with the outside material: similarities, differences.—Our estimate of the biblical material.—Not a myth.—Not a legend.—Idealized history.—The purpose of the prophetic writer, the purpose of the priestly writer.

In a former article on the deluge the biblical material was examined. This article is to deal with the stories of the deluge found in other literatures. After an examination of these stories it will be possible to do three things: 1) Discuss the various theories concerning the deluge stories taken together; 2) compare the biblical material with the material from other literatures; and 3) form an estimate of the biblical material.

I. *The Outside Stories.*—Hundreds of pages would be necessary to present at all adequately the stories of the deluge which have come down to us in literatures outside of the Hebrew literature. It will be at once clear that there is no space even for an abstract of the various statements. It is true that some of the stories are more interesting than others. But no satisfactory conclusions can be reached except upon the basis of an examination of all or practically all of the material. Lenormant, in *The Beginnings of History*,² presents the essential parts of most of these stories. In various commentaries on Genesis there will be found in connection with the comments on Genesis 6-9, references and allusions to the stories. In Lenormant's presentation, the authorities are given for each statement made. The reader, therefore, is referred to this collection of material for the facts, it being impossible to present

¹For literature, see preceding article.

²Pages 387, and following.

them in the small space at our disposal. The most important of all the stories, the Chaldean, will be found translated in full in the February number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*. The reader is referred also to this article. It is to be remembered that a copy of the Assyrian account, now in our possession, was made about 700 B. C. by order of Asur-bani-pal, from an old copy in the library of the city of Uruk. This older copy goes back to 1,800 or 2,000 years before Christ. The existence of the story was known before the discovery of the tablets by accounts handed down by Berossus, a Chaldean priest living in the time of Alexander the Great and his successors. Fragments of his work furnished some of the most important details of the story. The original itself, referred to above, was found by George Smith, in 1872, among certain brick tablets brought from Nineveh. It was given to the world for the first time in the *London Daily News*, December 5, 1872. Besides the Assyrian story the student will read and examine also (1) the Aramæan, (2) the Sanskrit, (3) the Persian, (4) the various Greek stories, (5) the Phrygian, (6) the Scandinavian, (7) the Lithuanian, (8) the Celtic, (9) the Egyptian, (10) the American, (11) the Polyneesian. A few remarks may be made upon the supposition that the details of the various stories referred to above are familiar to the reader. 1) There is, of course, great divergence of matter, each story exhibiting a coloring which is characteristic of the country in which it has its origin. The maritime nations present it in certain forms; inland nations in still other forms. 2) Notwithstanding the very great divergence, the essential facts are found to be the same. Wickedness, punishment for wickedness, a great storm or deluge, the destruction of humanity, the deliverance of a few, the adoption of these few as special favorites of the God or gods,—these general ideas are found everywhere. 3) It is at once apparent to any one who has examined the material, that while some of it may be regarded as late and consequently based upon the biblical narrative, much of it is as old as the biblical narrative or even older.

The main problems which present themselves for solution are two, namely, the historical and the literary; the first dealing

with the deluge itself, the second with the various narratives which concern the deluge; the first having to do with the actual event which is described in all the stories; the second with the inter-relationship of the stories themselves.

II. *Theories presented in explanation of the facts narrated in the deluge stories.*

1. According to Goldziher, Grill, and many other students of comparative mythology, we are to understand these various stories as different forms of the naturalistic 'myth respecting rains and floods in general. The possibilities of explanation under this head are as numerous as the authors themselves. For lack of space these possibilities are here omitted.

2. The original story is a mythical picture of the setting of the sun. Just as, according to Schirren, one may trace all the old cosmogonies to mythical descriptions of the rising of the sun, so the various stories of the deluge may be traced to a mythical picture of the setting of the sun. This explanation also may be passed by without further comment.

3. The deluge is a mythical presentation of creation. Cheyne, the writer on this subject in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, presents this view in the following language: "The story of the deluge is a subdivision of the primitive man's cosmogony. The problem with which he had to deal was a complicated one—given the eternity of matter to account for the origin of the world. The best solution which presented itself was to represent creation as having taken place repeatedly, and the world as having passed through a series of demolitions and reconstructions. This explains the confusion between the creation and the deluge noticed by various travelers, a confusion, however, which is only apparent, for the deluge is, when thoroughly realized, practically a second creation. The various deluge stories must be viewed in combination and explained on a common principle. What was the original significance of the non-biblical stories? Not merely an annual recurring river flood such as those of the Euphrates, for the phenomenal basis of myths must be something striking and wonderful as well as frequently recurring.

The phenomena of the sky and especially of the sun are daily miracles. The deluge of these stories has been transferred from the skies to the earth. It is an ether myth. The attempt to explain the existence of the world on the basis of an ether myth was not uncommon. The deluge was not the last of these destructions. Some races supposed a great fire to have swept over the earth and to have destroyed all save a few who hid themselves in caves."

4. We may understand the basis of the deluge story to be a legend transmitting historical memories which, though mythical and colored, have still the fate of actual men as their subject—an historical origin.

This is the view advanced by Delitzsch.¹

5. We may regard the deluge as a historical fact preserved in a multitude of forms. Here several points deserve consideration. (a) Every nation, it is asserted by Lenormant, except the black race, has a tradition of the deluge. (b) This tradition wherever found is essentially the same. (c) We may grant that in America and in Oceanica it is not independent but an early importation. (d) Granting this, however, it remains true that a tradition is found in the Indo-European, the Semitic, the Egyptian, or Hamitic families. (e) These facts do not permit us to assume as the origin of these stories a myth either naturalistic or cosmogonic, because as Delitzsch has said, the story is too specifically human, because, further, it is too universal, and still further, because such an explanation partakes too much of the arbitrary. (f) Nor is the historical element so slight as to allow us to call it, with Delitzsch, a legend. The deluge is an histor-

¹ "Human history as well as the natural world, left its reflection upon the consciousness, and as there were nature-myths in which natural phenomena were incorporated, so also there were historic memories transmitted in the form of legends which, though mythologically colored, have still the fate of actual men as their subject. Such a legend is that of the deluge, which is in the scriptural account brought down by the removal of all mythological embellishment to historical purpose. The Babylonio-Assyrian account is far more fanciful and interesting, and hence more poetical, but like that of the Bible so specifically human, that it would be quite as arbitrary to make the waters of Noah a picture of the ocean of heaven as to generalize the victorious expedition of Alexander into a picture of the victory of the sun over mist and darkness."

—*Commentary on Genesis*, page 237.

ical fact, "an actual and terrible event which made so powerful an impression upon the imaginations of the first parents of our species that their descendants could never forget it. This cataclysm took place near the primitive cradle of mankind and previous to the separation of the families from whom the principal races were to descend." Among three races it was primitive and these were the descendants of Ham, Shem and Japheth. Having now decided as to the character of the event which forms the subject of the stories, we may compare the stories themselves.

III. *A Comparison of the Biblical with the Outside Material.*

1. *Similarities.*—In all, or nearly all of the stories there will be found allusions to the following topics: Wickedness, the announcement, the command to build, the contents of the ark, the entering into the ark, the coming of the waters, a certain duration, the appearance of land, birds, the altar and the sacrifice, the Divine repentance, the rainbow. Kalisch has thus summarized it: "Scarcely a single feature of the biblical account which is not discovered in one or several of the heathen traditions. Coincidences not limited to details; they extend to the whole outlines; it is almost everywhere the sin of man which renders the determination of an all just judge irrevocable; one pious man is saved with his family to form the nucleus of a new population; an ark is introduced; and pairs of the animal creation are collected; birds are sent out to ascertain the condition of the earth; an altar is built and sacrifices are offered. It is certain that none of these accounts are derived from the pages of the Bible. They are independent of each other. Their differences are as striking and characteristic as their analogies; they are echoes of a sound which had long vanished away."

2. *Differences.*—Under this head we may take as example the one outside story which is recognized as standing first in every particular—the Assyrian. If now we compare the biblical account with the Assyrian, we note dissimilarities in reference to form and contents; for example, a difference in respect to size and

name of the ark. The length of the ark according to the Bible being six to one, the Assyrian ten to one; a difference as to occupants, the Assyrian account including the ship builders and relatives. There is nothing in the Assyrian account concerning the clean and unclean. In the Assyrian account the duration is seven days, the birds being sent out seven days after. The Assyrian story includes among the birds, besides the dove and raven, the swallow which is not found in the Hebrew story. The place according to the Assyrian story is Nizir, east of Assyria; the Hebrew story the mountains of Ararat. The fate of the hero in each case is different. In the one case he is deified; in the other he is allowed to live a long period of years. It would be interesting here to take up the question of relative age of the two stories—the Hebrew and the Assyrian, but such consideration may perhaps be best postponed.

The dissimilarities in reference to the spirit and purpose are greater. The Assyrian story is grossly anthropomorphic; including the representation of the gods crouching like dogs, and again of the gods gathering like flies before the master of the sacrifices; while the anthropomorphic element in the Hebrew story is very slight indeed and never grotesque. The Assyrian account is polytheistic; the Hebrew everywhere monotheistic. There is no purpose in the Assyrian account except to explain the deification of man. The purpose of the Hebrew story stands out in every verse. One reads the Assyrian story and discovers no teaching whatever; while in the Hebrew account the greatest of all teaching is found; punishment for wickedness, deliverance for righteousness. We find nowhere in the Hebrew story allusions to spirits quarrelling among the gods, to the deification of man. And as to the relative influence of the two stories, who can fail to see the superiority of the Hebrew?

IV. Our Estimate of the Biblical Material.

1. Is it a naturalistic myth of rain, or the setting of the sun, or of the cosmogony? No.

2. Is it an historical legend? An event—an impression made upon the mind—the impression colored or embellished—and this

mythological element removed; reduced to historical prose? There may be no general objection to this view, but the specific objection is that it minimizes the historical element. This event was too serious, too great, too well attested to be classified merely as a legend. We cannot call the Hebrew account of creation a legend; the creation was a fact, and the great teachings which these stories disclose are fundamentally true. We cannot call the Hebrew account of the fall of man a legend. Other nations may have made legends out of the same material, but the Hebrew nation has not done this. The fall was a great fact of history, and we have it narrated together with the powerful religious lessons connected with it in such a manner as most forcibly to teach, most authoritatively to declare these truths. Just so with the deluge. There is no legend here. Is it literal history? No. Nor is the Book of Job history, nor the Books of Chronicles, nor the Books of Kings, nor the Books of Samuel.

4. *It is idealized history.*—What now is meant by idealized history? The selection of an event and the writing of a narrative of it in order to accomplish a purpose. What are the characteristics of such history? They may be summarized as follows: (1) The writer is not careful to arrange his material chronologically. A better arrangement perhaps may be found to accomplish the end he has in view. (2) He does not think it necessary to narrate all the facts, for many of the facts will not bear upon the purpose he has in view. (3) Outside facts are suggested because they will assist in enabling him to present the idea which is at the basis of the whole statement. (4) Details are disregarded which do not bear directly upon his purpose. (5) Those details which do stand closely related with the purpose he has in mind are expanded. (6) The narrative is everywhere colored by the writer's position. (7) The artistic element is found to prevail everywhere. (8) The influence everywhere is seen of a purpose. Idealized history—history written to convey an idea, especially a religious idea, is something very different from a mere cold, scientific statement in precise chronological order of the facts connected with a particular event.

5. If this is idealized history, that is, history written with a purpose, what was the purpose which the historical statement was intended to serve? We must remember that we have here two narratives; one from the pen of the prophet, the other from the pen of the priest. Each had his particular purpose, and we must keep these distinct.

The *prophetic* writer has already told us (1) how man once was innocent and, in this state of innocency, on familiar terms with God and possessed of all the happiness that God could bestow on man, blessed and immortal—but he sinned, and instead of this blessing there was a curse. (2) How one brother kills another and thus crime quickly enters the world, the consequence of sin; (3) how the line of the murderer becomes worse and worse; cities, the centre of corruption and iniquity, are founded; music, sensual in its influence, and weapons of war, for all cruelty and blood-shed, are invented; polygamy is introduced, and all this is the result, the inevitable consequence, and the dire concomitant of sin; (4) how this sin, great enough in itself, is enhanced by the example of angels who left their heavenly abode and mingled with women—their off-spring giants and demons, instigators of lawlessness and crime. (5) And now the end has come. Jehovah has endured all that even a God can endure. Man has become wicked, utterly depraved. There must be a new beginning. The old race shall die; the deluge punishes the world for its sin; the deluge purifies the world of its iniquity. Could anything be more reasonable or more consistent? What was his purpose? Clearly and distinctly to show that for sin man must die. The story is told most pathetically. The sacred numbers 7 and 40 are used. They both represent completeness, sufficiency. Sufficient warning was given; rain sufficient came down; a sufficient delay was granted; the time is nothing; the details are nothing, save as they furnish a vivid and pathetic picture. All this is form, coloring. The essential fact, destruction and death sent by a just God for sin, this is real. And the purpose? the same which has characterized every sentence which we have thus far studied from the prophet's pen, the same which we shall find to characterize every new

sentence, every new story throughout the Books of the Pentateuch. Nay more, the same which characterizes every story in the Books of Samuel and Kings.

What now is the purpose which was intended by the priest? The *priestly* writer has told us (1) of the orderly and systematic origin of the earth and sky, created in six days, a creation including as its crowning feature the covenant with Adam by which all things created were made subject to him, and also the institution of the sabbath, the greatest of all divine institutions; (2) of the symmetrical progress of the world's history from Adam to Noah—ten patriarchs living so many years, begetting each a son living so many more years, begetting sons and daughters and dying—chronological, statistical, minute, accurate, definite, stereotyped, characterized by a single idea; (3) he now makes a note, repetitious and redundant, of man's wickedness and of God's determination to destroy; (4) then follows a description, equally as repetitious and minute, strangely statistical and definite, of the deluge through which the destruction is to be wrought. The exact size of the ark, the exact statement of its contents, the 600th year, 15 cubits above the highest mountain the waters prevail; exactly 150 days the waters increase. In the 601st year, first month, first day, the water subsides, the deluge has lasted just 365 days. These numbers are ideal. No man knew the duration. There were scores of opinions and traditions. To one of mathematical frame of mind, what could seem better than to represent it as a year? The creation had been put in the form of a week; the deluge is given the form of a year. The creation stories led up to the institution of the Sabbath; the deluge story leads up to the institution, the command respecting the shedding of blood. The creation included a covenant with Adam; the deluge story includes a covenant with Noah in largely the same language, appointing or reappointing him lord over all the earth and authorizing him to eat flesh. The covenant assures him that there shall not be another deluge. This covenant is the goal, the purpose of the priest. He has reached the second of the three preliminary stages of his work preparatory to the recording of the legislation as given to Moses

on Sinai, and the great covenant there ratified with the people. This, in each case, is the purpose of our writers. Could anything higher, or more worthy be conceived? The deluge was a fact; it was a part of a great plan; its record as handed down to us in the Hebrew Scriptures is the one clear, distinct account, and when compared with the other accounts bears on its face indications of its divine origin.

THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

By the REVEREND THOMAS J. RAMSDELL,
South Paris, Me.

The central theme of Matthew's gospel is the kingdom of heaven, which expression is used as a synonym of the phrase kingdom of God. It is well known that the spirit of reverence among the Jews was so great that they systematically avoided the pronounciation of the divine name. Hence, Matthew, writing principally for Jews, respects this feeling, and speaks of the kingdom of heaven instead of the kingdom of God.

To refer to the source of this idea of the kingdom of God, as found in the Old Testament Scriptures, perhaps the most striking expressions are found in the writings of Daniel. Some of them are as follows: "I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nation, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." "The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all kingdoms, and it shall stand forever." Other prophets in earlier times had written in the same strain. We read in Micah, "I will make the halting a remnant and the far-scattered a strong nation. And Jehovah shall reign over them in Mount Zion henceforth and forever." And Jeremiah prophesies, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice upon the earth." There are many more passages of the

same import in the prophetic books. We have also, in what are known as the Messianic passages in the historical books of the Old Testament and in the Psalms, frequent references to a future kingdom.

When Christ came, the idea of the kingdom of heaven had been cherished among the Jews for centuries. But the views which largely prevailed among them as to the nature of that kingdom were in many respects false and misleading. The teachings of Christ concerning the kingdom of heaven were often in direct opposition to Jewish belief. Nowhere in the New Testament is this contrast more strikingly displayed than in the gospel of Matthew. In considering the teachings of this gospel on the kingdom of heaven it will be convenient to class them under four heads. First, The Ruler of the Kingdom. Second, The Subjects of the Kingdom. Third, The Legislation of the Kingdom. Fourth, The Consummation of the Kingdom.

I. THE RULER OF THE KINGDOM.

The Old Testament taught that the coming king would be a descendant of David. Matthew opens his gospel with a genealogical table showing that Jesus Christ was descended from that royal line so dear to the heart of every son of Israel. A little further on the evangelist records the visit of the wise men to the cradle of the infant Christ with their significant question, "Where is he that was born king of the Jews?" He also tells of the demand of Herod as to where Christ should be born. In reply there is quoted the prophecy concerning Bethlehem, "Out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel." Thus we see the prominence given to the kingly idea at the very outset. When we turn to Christ himself as portrayed in this gospel we find him assuming the authority of a king. With an oft repeated, "I say unto you," he lays down laws for the government of his subjects. He shows by his miracles that he has power over the forces of nature, and also over disease and death. He assumes the divine prerogative of the forgiveness of sins. Nor is this all. He gives a vivid description of the last judgment, and represents himself as fixing forever the eternal destiny

of men. In keeping with this is his confession before the high priest that he is the Christ, the Son of God, and that hereafter he will return in the clouds of heaven. Yet notwithstanding his assumption of authority, and the fact that he speaks of the kingdom of heaven as *my* kingdom he teaches his disciples to pray to the Father, "*thy* kingdom come." When asked to bestow places of honor in his kingdom he promptly replies that such rewards are not his to give, but that they shall be given to those for whom they have been prepared by his Father. While asserting his claim to be the ruler of the kingdom, Christ also makes it clear that it is a delegated authority which he exercises. On one occasion he says, explicitly, "All things are delivered unto me of my Father." After his resurrection he says, "All power is *given* unto me in heaven and in earth." Primarily, then, the authority over the kingdom resides in God, but he has delegated it to his Son, to be exercised by him till the final consummation of the kingdom.

II. THE SUBJECTS OF THE KINGDOM.

The Jews believed that every one of their nation who had not forfeited his rights by outbreking wickedness, was, by birth, a citizen of the kingdom of heaven. Christ recognized no such claims as these. On one occasion, after commending the faith of a gentile, he declared that many should come from the east and the west, and should sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but that the children of the kingdom (using the phrase, of course, in the popular acceptation) should be cast into outer darkness. Thus it appears that something more than descent from Abraham is needed to constitute one a subject of the kingdom. There is, however, a wider sense, in which all men, both good and bad, are regarded as subjects of the kingdom. This is brought prominently to notice in those parables which speak of a final separation of the good and bad. Wheat and tares grow together till the harvest. The dragnet gathers fish of every kind. The king is in reality the lawful ruler over wicked and rebellious subjects no less than over the loyal and loving. But we are chiefly concerned with the more limited sense of the word

subjects, which confines itself to those who acknowledge the authority of the King and who enjoy the privileges of the kingdom. One condition, without fulfilling which men cannot become subjects, is made prominent at the outset. John the Baptist, the herald of the King, began his ministry by calling on men to repent because the kingdom of heaven was at hand. Of course the implication was that without repentance men could not become subjects of that kingdom. Christ himself began his ministry with the same proclamation. Later on he pronounced a fearful doom upon some of the towns in which he had wrought miracles, because they did not repent. Without this repentance Jewish descent was of no avail so far as membership in the kingdom was concerned, but with repentance, even the criminal and the outcast might become members of the kingdom.

In addition to repentance, true subjects of the kingdom must have faith in Christ. The word faith, in Matthew's gospel, usually conveys the idea of trust or confidence. It is an affair of the heart rather than of the head. For example, the woman who was healed of the issue of blood evidently did not have a clear apprehension of the person and nature of Christ, but she had unlimited confidence in him; and hence he says to her, "Thy faith hath made thee whole." We do not find the word "faith" or the kindred verb "believe" occurring so often in Matthew as in the other evangelists. Nevertheless the general tenor of his gospel proceeds on the assumption that those who have become subjects of the kingdom have full confidence in Jesus Christ as the Son of God.

Those who would be loyal to Christ must acknowledge him before the world. So essential is this that it is explicitly declared that any man who shall deny Christ shall be denied by him in the presence of the Father. In this connection Christ also insists that a man must set loyalty to him above everything else in the world, and must be ready to sacrifice promptly everything that stands in the way of such loyalty. The strongest earthly ties must be severed at once if they hold one back from entering upon the Lord's service. The King claims the first place in the hearts of his subjects, and no man who is unwilling to accord him that place can become a subject of his kingdom.

Many will make professions of loyalty who at heart will not be loyal, and to these the King will say at last, "I never knew you." But genuine disciples will bring forth the fruits of the kingdom. Accordingly there are certain characteristic marks by which true disciples may be known. Several of these distinguishing traits of character are mentioned in the Sermon on the Mount. True subjects of the kingdom will recognize their own spiritual destitution, and hence will be ready to magnify the free grace of the King in bestowing his favors upon them. They will not cherish a spirit of resentment, even toward those who wrong them, but will love their enemies, and do good to them. They will try earnestly to promote peace instead of strife. They will also seek earnestly after purity of heart. The religion of that time was greatly concerned about external and bodily purifications, but Christ shows that it is something far deeper than this which his kingdom demands. The heart, the fountain of life, must be pure, and then the life will be right. Again, the loyal subject of the King will reverence and obey the Scriptures and he will strive to bring others to the same reverence and obedience which he himself manifests. He will also possess a trusting and childlike spirit. He will not strive after the highest places, but will be content to serve the King in whatever sphere shall be assigned him. Such are some of the principal traits of character that distinguish those who are true subjects of the kingdom.

Matthew makes it very plain that the kingdom of heaven, though it has been established among the Jewish people, is by no means to be confined to them. In this connection it is worth while to notice one very important saying of our Lord which Matthew alone records. After uttering the parable of the Vineyard, that scorching rebuke to Israel after the flesh, he says plainly to the rulers of the people, "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." Matthew must have known well how offensive this record of the Lord's words would be to those of his Jewish readers who did not acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah, but he knew also their importance in throwing light upon the question

as to who should become subjects of the kingdom. In the closing words of the gospel the fact is brought out in clearest light that those subjects are not to come from one favored nation but from all nations. It is true that our evangelist has recorded that when Jesus sent forth the twelve he commanded them not to go "into any way of the gentiles," but that was only a temporary and preparatory mission. Before ascending to heaven he plans another and greater mission for his disciples. He commands them to go and make disciples of *all* nations. These disciples are to be baptized and taught all the things which Christ commanded his immediate followers, or, in other words, in order that they may become faithful and obedient subjects they are to be taught the laws of the kingdom. The gospel of Matthew sets forth these laws with such distinctness and emphasis that there is no need that they should be misunderstood.

III. THE LEGISLATION OF THE KINGDOM.

Christ paid no attention to many of the curious and subtle distinctions made by the Pharisees between what was lawful and what was not. Indeed, he even denounced them for burdening tender consciences with such needless questions of casuistry. But it must be remembered that he insisted rigidly upon obedience to the law of God as revealed in the Old Testament. He warned men especially against the mistake of supposing that he had come to destroy that law or to set it aside. On the contrary, he would have his followers manifest the utmost reverence for it. In order that the way of obedience may be made plain the Lord takes a number of the commandments and shows the superficial and unspiritual interpretation put upon them by the religious leaders of the time, and then he shows their true spiritual application. He does not set aside the Old Testament precepts. He only amplifies and unfolds them. He takes the familiar command, "Thou shalt not kill," and shows that the spirit of the prohibition applies also to angry and bitter feelings against another. In like manner he takes the command, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and shows that it forbids even the unchaste look. The most rigid Pharisee in his expositions of

the law never went so far as this. He and his class confined themselves to outward and ceremonial refinements, but Christ strikes at the root of the matter and shows that obedience to the laws of his kingdom, to be genuine, must spring from the heart.

Greed for gain is especially reprehended by Christ. Not only is this the case in the sermon on the mount, but Matthew also records that later in Christ's ministry a young man came to him desiring to become one of his subjects, or in other words to inherit eternal life. The sincerity of his wish is tested by commanding him to sell his possessions and distribute the proceeds to the poor. The young man fails to meet the test, and Christ improves the opportunity by pointing out to the disciples how hard it is for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

The prominence which Christ gives to the law of marriage and divorce is very noticeable. He expressly and positively lays it down as the law of his kingdom that there shall be no such thing as divorce with the right of remarriage except for the single cause of adultery. When his attention is called to the difference between his teaching and that of Moses on this point, he quotes the divine law of marriage laid down at the creation, as found in the second chapter of Genesis. He shows his critics that though he sets aside a law of Moses intended to serve a temporary purpose, he substitutes for it the original law of God which had been temporarily superseded. Here again is another illustration of Christ's saying that he came not to destroy but to fulfill. Profanity in every form is strictly prohibited. Revenge is also forbidden. In order that the feeling which prompts to revengeful deeds may have no place in the heart, men are commanded to love their enemies. He teaches that in case of injuries it is better to go to the extreme of absolute non-resistance in all cases than to indulge a revengeful spirit which ought to be absolutely foreign to the heart of every subject of the Messiah's reign.

There is another law of the kingdom which has often been strangely overlooked. It is the law of the extension of the kingdom—the command to carry the offer of citizenship to all nations. Just as the citizen of an earthly government is liable to military duty for the defense and preservation of that govern-

ment, so the subject of the heavenly kingdom is responsible for service in the war of conquest which the King is carrying on. It is very evident that this law continues binding till the work of making disciples of the nations shall be completed.

There is one great principle underlying the entire legislation of the kingdom. That principle is the fundamental law of love. On one occasion a critic of Christ put to him the question, "Which is the great commandment in the law?" The reply was, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment and the second is like to it. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'" It is very plain from this teaching that instead of perplexing himself about petty forms and ceremonies as the scribes and Pharisees were accustomed to do, a man's great concern should be to know first of all that his heart is filled with love to God and love to his fellowman. He alone is an ideal subject of the kingdom whose heart is thus filled, and he alone will be right in his conduct toward both God and men.

IV. THE CONSUMMATION OF THE KINGDOM.

According to Matthew the kingdom of heaven or the Messianic reign established on earth by Christ is to grow and extend itself till it reaches a consummation. No hint is given as to the actual length of time that must elapse before that event is reached, yet the import of Christ's teaching is that the progress of the kingdom is to be comparatively slow. The Jews looked for a Messianic reign that should begin with a display of great power and splendor. Christ teaches that such a display will be made, but it is to come not at the inauguration but at the consummation of the kingdom. Not all at once is the king's authority to be acknowledged and his reign to become supreme. Rather is there to be a gradual extension of the kingdom. The popular idea among the Jews was that the coming of the Messiah would mark a change so radical in the state of society and in the condition of their own nation that they habitually spoke of the time preceding the advent of the Messiah as the present age and the time succeeding his advent as the coming age. Christ accepted

this popular phraseology, but used it in a slightly different meaning. He makes the *second* advent the boundary line between this age and the coming one. He has come and planted his kingdom in this present age. That kingdom is to go on developing in spite of all opposition, and its final completion is to mark the ending of the age that now is, and the ushering in of the age that is to come.

This paper has no new light to shed on those vexed questions of eschatology which have been in dispute among biblical scholars for centuries. In all probability there will not be a general agreement of opinion among Christians on those subjects till the second advent occurs. Nevertheless, Matthew has recorded certain plain and unmistakable teachings of Christ concerning some incidents of the final and permanent triumph of the kingdom of heaven.

One matter upon which especial stress is laid is the separation between the good and bad. In the present stage of the kingdom's development no such separation is attempted. Christ taught those who were surprised at this that the wheat and tares must grow together till the harvest. In the wider sense, all men are subjects of the kingdom; but many are disobedient and rebellious subjects. They interfere to hinder the growth of the kingdom. They persecute and even kill loyal subjects because of their loyalty. But let no one suppose that this state of affairs is to continue forever. It is only temporary. The tares are mingled with the wheat, but only till the time of harvest. The net gathers fish of every kind, but no sooner is it drawn to land than the work of separating the good from the worthless is begun. Over and over again Christ emphasizes the truth that the wicked and the righteous are to dwell together only during this present age. Then the great separation comes. And this process of separation is to be carried on not only among those who shall be living on the earth at the time of the Lord's return but it will take place among all who have ever lived, for the resurrection is to precede this separation. The writer of this paper is, of course, aware that there are some who hold to the belief that the judgment scene described in the twenty-fifth chapter of this gospel

applies only to those who shall be living on earth at the time of the Lord's return, but even those who hold such an opinion must admit that the final consummation of the kingdom will not take place till after the final judgment. In this gospel Christ nowhere gives any extended teaching in regard to the resurrection, but he assumes that it will take place. When the Sadducees cavil at the doctrine he silences them at once by showing that their unbelief of the resurrection is due to ignorance of the Scriptures. Marked prominence is given to the fact that final rewards and punishments are not to come till the consummation of the kingdom. When one of the disciples asked Christ what reward they should have who had left all to follow him, he does, it is true, make mention in his reply of some benefits to be received in this present age, but principally he directs their attention to the time when "the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory," and makes them a promise clothed in figurative language of a great reward at that time. Christ also represents himself as saying to those on his right hand in the great day of separation, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." This certainly cannot mean that they had not been members of his kingdom before, but it does mean that then for the first time they were to enter upon the enjoyment of that kingdom in its final and perfect state. Then, and then only, will the reward of the loyal subject be complete.

So then, at the consummation of the kingdom the righteous dead are to be raised that they may share in its blessings and its triumphs, and the wicked dead will be raised and receive the due reward of their deeds. Angels under the direction of the king are to go forth and sever the wicked from among the just. The long conflict between good and evil will end. All things that offend and that do iniquity will at last be gathered out of the kingdom. Henceforth that kingdom will embrace only loyal subjects, for its enemies will have been banished forever.

The Bible and the Sunday School.

SUNDAY SCHOOL WORK AND HOW IT CAN BE IMPROVED.

By The REV. F. N. PELOUBET, D.D.,
Natick, Mass.

In response to your request I write concerning the work of the Sunday School,—not from the standpoint of a writer of lesson helps, nor as a teacher of adults, but from the point of view of a teacher of a class of boys (which privilege has been mine for several years), and as a close and frequent observer of Sunday schools.

I. THE OBJECT. The Sunday School is one of several instrumentalities by which the church teaches the Bible facts and truths, "the sword of the spirit," through the personal power of an experienced soul in contact with those to be taught, for the purpose of leading them to choose God and a holy life as their portion, and of training them to a noble character and useful life, "unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

In estimating the work of the Sunday School we must never forget that there are several other instrumentalities accomplishing the same general end, and that it is not the mission of the Sabbath School to do all the work, nor is it to be regarded as a failure if it fails to do the work of Sabbath worship, the sermon, the prayer meeting, and other meetings for the religious instruction of children, as well as its own.

I heard a man who was praising some Methodist success say that, in a prayer meeting, a Methodist began his remarks with "I am moved to say," etc., while a Congregationalist would say, "While I've been sitting here I've been thinking," etc. Of course the best of either denomination do both. But as between the Sabbath School and the prayer meeting, the latter lays its emphasis on "I am moved," and the Sunday School on, "I've been thinking," and the church service on both.

II. THE CHIEF DIFFICULTIES are:

1. The shortness of the time possible in the Sunday School, not exceeding thirty or forty minutes once a week.
2. The largeness of the subject, the whole Bible, especially in connection with the new light thrown upon it of late years. These two together render certain kinds of study impossible in the average class.
3. The difficulty of getting the children to study at home during the week on account of the over pressure of other studies.

4. The great diversity of age, ability and attainment in the scholars, together with irregular attendance.

5. The want of enough thoroughly trained and devoted teachers.

III. THE DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM grow chiefly out of the above difficulties. In order to understand them clearly it is necessary to keep in mind what are the essentials of the present system, as distinguished from the mere accessories.

The present system may be defined, in general terms, *as the uniform study by all, of the whole Bible, in chronological order, once in a number of years, alternating more or less frequently between the Old and New Testament.* It implies the inductive study of the Bible itself, and direct application to the heart and life. The length of the lessons, the number of years in a series, the number of Lesson Helps, the frequency of change, the divergence of primary and other selected classes from the scheme, the methods of study, are all incidents and not essentials.

In general, I would say that most of the practical defects are either (1) defects in the method of using and developing the system by teachers and lesson writers, and not in the system itself, or (2) grow out of conditions that cannot at once be changed, and are divergences from an ideal, impossible to be realized immediately, under the circumstances, by any possible practical system.

It is not a system for college classes, nor for select clubs, nor for those who can give much time to thorough study. I have taken Diogenes' lantern and looked everywhere I could in England and America for a better system, and I have not yet seen even the shadow of one which is better in its essential features under present conditions. I have found many valuable suggestions, but each one can grow upon the present system as naturally as an apple grows upon an apple tree, or it illustrates the couplet:

“ Poor relief it is we gain
To change the place and keep the pain.”

Still there are a number of well defined defects in the present system as commonly used.

The First Defect is the very limited, indefinite, imperfect knowledge of the Bible attained by the scholars. There is no question as to the fact. And no system can change the fact so long as the teaching is confined to a half hour a week. But there can be great improvements. The same complaint is made of our day schools. And the fact that so much fault is found with both day and Sunday Schools, is a sign of life, and a matter of encouragement. The same indefiniteness of knowledge is very wide, even among intelligent people, as to the commonest questions of government, schools and the great political questions of the day. I have made not a few tests. The answers to test questions in the *Outlook*, a year or two ago, can be paralleled almost anywhere on other subjects and among adults.

The Remedy is not to be found in a mere change of system, but under any system in—

1. A better and more definite teaching, inductive and practical.
2. A greater inspiration to home study.
3. By the learning of more facts through continued drill, and of more passages of Scripture by heart.
4. By supplemental lessons in definite catechetical form for all classes under the adult, giving general, condensed, bird's-eye views. This is absolutely necessary under any system.
5. By examinations such as are proposed by President Harper, and sent out by the American Institute of Sacred Literature; and the examinations by the English Sunday School Union.
6. By Normal classes, courses for special Bible Study, the International Bible Reading Association, University Extension courses, and similar things that awaken enthusiasm and bring opportunity for Bible study.

The Second Defect is the want of continuity in the lessons as some use them, the study of them as detached portions, what has been brightly called "the hop, skip, and jump" method.

This does not inhere in the system. It is not the lessons as planned, but the teachers that "hop, skip, and jump." I notice in the lessons for 1895 the International Lesson Committee have made an effort to avoid this danger by suggesting a whole section of which the lesson is the centre, section to be joined to section in a continuous history, as they have all along intended the teachers to do, as some of us lesson writers have done for years.

This defect is very great. And whenever any one who has so studied the Bible first takes each portion as a part of a whole history, or a complete life of Christ, and sees each part in its relations to the whole, it comes to him almost like a new revelation.

I am sure that the best scheme for Bible study in the Sunday School must include the whole Bible. In my earlier pastorate the Sunday Schools could not be got out of the Gospels and the Acts, with an occasional glimpse of Genesis. Most of the Bible was an unknown book except to those of us who were compelled to read it through at home, and to those who in the primary school studied the biblical catechisms. It was far from an ideal system. We ought to go through the Bible in the school as we travel through a country, stopping at the points of greatest interest, and making them centres of study for the whole, while glancing out of the windows, or from the deck of the steamer, at all intervening portions.

The higher criticism has helped us much in giving us these broader and more comprehensive views. Most of the questions it raises cannot be discussed in the younger classes, and may take up too much time in the older ones. But we can guard our scholars against basing their belief in the Bible on any theory of the literary form of the Bible, lest, if it fails them, the temple of their faith and hope, being built upon the sand, should fall with it.

The Third Defect grows out of the attempt to teach uniform lessons to scholars of all ages and all degrees of intelligence and culture. It is perfectly plain that some of the scholars cannot, on this plan, have the lessons ideally best for them. The same difficulty arises in every graded day school. Yet I believe that it is impossible to have the best and most effective work done without uniform lessons, with some exceptions, to be mentioned later. To abolish uniform lessons is, in some respects, to set the hands on the Sunday School dial back twenty-five years. There can be no real advanced step that does not retain general uniformity. It greatly helps the home teaching; it aids the teacher in his preparation; it concentrates many other rays of light upon the same passage; it makes teachers' meetings possible; it brings the topic into frequent conversation. To give up uniformity is worse than to burn up the barn to get rid of the rats. There are better ways. The ideal school will therefore—

1. Have a uniform system for the main school.
2. The school will be graded into several departments.
3. The grading for the main school will be one of graded lessons and helps on uniform topics, the points being taken which are especially adapted to each class. This grading can be done as effectively in most cases as if different Bible verses were selected, and almost as perfectly as the grading in our day schools. Indeed, much of the grading in the day schools is of this character.
4. There will be certain of the adult classes which will take turns in temporarily taking up special fields of study, or books of the Bible, or normal lessons, in a kind of post-graduate course. This has always been done in some of the large schools which most believe in the uniform lessons.
5. The primary department will either have a double course, one on the International lessons and one of its own, or will have a course especially adapted to its own needs.

The Fourth Defect of the present system lies in its apparent inflexibility. It is not wise always to do the same thing. That this defect is not inherent in the system is shown by the fact that the present course is for only six years instead of the seven hitherto adhered to, and we are now taking up the life of Christ in chronological order.

I do not see why a greater variety might not be an advantage. After having been over the Bible once or twice in a seven years' course, why not go through it once in a three years' course. After alternating each year between the Old and the New Testaments, why not take a two years' course in the New Testament history. Then go back again to the seven or eight years' course, which, on the whole, is the best.

A Fifth Defect, frequently referred to by certain critics, is the want of sufficient training in many of the teachers we are compelled to employ. This, however, adheres to every system that can be used in the Sunday School. However, I think that the criticism is over-done. The facts are not as bad as frequently represented. For the work to be accomplished, the teachers will

average very high, as high as the majority of teachers in the common schools of our country; indeed, many of them are the same. I cannot agree with Professor Briggs in his statements about Sunday School teachers in the *North American Review*. Mr. Jacobs has said that the Lord has skimmed the cream of the churches and put it into the Sunday School. I am inclined to go further, and believe that by the Sunday School teaching he turns even the skim-milk into cream; such a large proportion of the Bible study being in connection with preparation for teaching. Large classes, except for adults and primary classes, are not so good either for the church or the children, who need the personal close contact of earnest, intelligent souls with their own, and many of whom learn very little in a large class, under the circumstances of our Sunday School teaching. But that our teachers need much more training than they receive, and, that one of the great lines of progress in the future will be in this direction, is perfectly clear.

Of course the above are not all the defects that can easily be seen. However, they do not belong to this system more than to others. I wish to end as I began, with the results of all the researches I have been able to make, (1) that in its essential features, for the main school, the present system of uniform lessons has great advantages over every other so far suggested; (2) that it naturally and easily absorbs and makes a part of itself nearly every suggested improvement (as, for instance, the Inductive studies of President Harper, Professor Willis J. Beecher and others in the former *Old and New Testament Student*, now improved into *THE BIBLICAL WORLD*); (3) that our great effort should be to retain all its advantages, cure all its defects, and adopt all improvements.

And (4) to this end we should not oppose, but welcome every experiment and every effort to discover better things, and bid God speed to all the prophets who see the possibilities of the future, and are taking "advanced steps" toward their realization. The learned man wanted "I die learning" on his tomb stone. The Sunday School will have no tomb stone if its motto is "I live learning."

F. N. P.

Notes and Opinions.

Our Lord's Attitude toward Ceremonial.—Professor Dods closes a valuable article upon this subject in *The Expositor* for July with the following words: "Summing up, then, what we are able to gather from the Gospels regarding our Lord's attitude to the ceremonial law; keeping in view this zeal for the preservation of the Temple's sanctity, his observance of the passover, his injunctions to his disciples regarding sacrifice and worship; and keeping in view also his clear enunciation of principles which explode ceremonialism, the principles of freedom from outward restraint and imposition, of the regulation of outward religious exercises by the feeling of the worshipper and not by hard and fast rules, and of the seat and source of ethical distinctions being within and not without—keeping in view, that is to say, his respect for ceremonies established by divine law and his clear insight into their temporary character, we see that Jesus was aware that in his kingdom ceremonialism must come to an end, but that he was content to lay down the principles of this abolition and leave them in their own time to accomplish practically what they predicted." An extended and excellent discussion of this aspect of Jesus' teaching was published a few years since, entitled *Christ and the Jewish Law* (Hodder and Stoughton). With the author of this volume, Mr. Mackintosh, Professor Dods finds himself in agreement, and acknowledges indebtedness to his treatment of the subject. Mr. Mackintosh's view is embodied in this passage: "Christ, while he not only respected the ceremonial law but was zealous for its honor, looked calmly forward to the destruction of its centre in the temple, and omitted ceremony from his positive injunction, while in such diverse points as fasting, distinction of meats, and temple dues, he indicated its incongruence with the spirit of his kingdom." We may with much confidence regard this as the true view of Christ's teaching concerning the ceremonial law.

Darius the Mede, and the Seventy Weeks of Daniel.—A brief communication upon these two points, by Rev. Buchanan Blake, appears in the July number of the *Expository Times*. Exception is taken by the writer to such interpretations of Scripture as would appear to imply that the writers were ignorant of the course of history. "When Belshazzar, who had been joint king with his father, was slain, the empire of Babylon passed into the hands of the Median reigning sovereign, Cyaxares son of Astyages, in whose name Cyrus was waging war. 'Darius' here then must be a title of empire, even as Cæsar has become so in its modern form of Tzar and Kaiser. Surely the writer must have known that no such king called Darius then reigned. To

him it was a title of office, the name being also thus used in contemporary records. Perhaps the name of the Median was not known. Dan. 5:31 would then read: 'And the emperor, the Mede, received the kingdom.' In 6:1, king or emperor would stand for Darius, and so in 9:1. Media and Persia are clearly distinguished in the Book of Daniel, and Darius the Mede is named as sovereign before Cyrus."

As to the seventy year-weeks of Daniel, Mr. Blake thinks it may be possible that these weeks may be working weeks, *i. e.*, weeks of six days, so that seventy year-weeks equals 420 years, exactly the length of time between Jeremiah's prophecy (30:2) in 588 B.C. and 168 B.C., when the desolation reached its height and end in Jerusalem. The seven year-weeks (42 years) would run from 588 B.C. to 546 B.C., when Cyrus appeared. The sixty-two year-weeks (372 years) would be from 546 B.C. to 174 B.C., when trouble began in Jerusalem under Antiochus and Jason; and the last year-week (6 years) would run from 174 B.C. to 168 B.C. From 168 to 165 B.C. we have the revolt of the Maccabees, which resulted in the purging of the temple. This was the time of the end or the close of the 1,335 days for which the faithful were advised to wait.

Mr. Blake's first hypothesis is a more probable one than his second which at least is ingenious. We must strive even against hope to solve satisfactorily the difficulties in the Book of Daniel.

John's Method of Reckoning the Hours of Day.—This much disputed point receives further discussion by Professor E. A. Abbott in the *Classical Review* for June. All admit that the entire New Testament, outside of the Fourth Gospel, reckons time from sunrise and sunset (*cf.* Matt. 20:3, 5, 6, 9; 27:45f.; Mark 15:25, 33f.; Luke 23:44; Acts 2:15; 3:1; 10:3, 9, 30; 23:33). But some have held that the Gospel of John adopts a different reckoning, namely, from midnight or midday. Two data are cited as supporting this usage in Asia Minor in John's time; the account of the death of Polycarp, which upon close examination supports the former view rather than the one it is cited in defense of; and the account of the death of Pionius in A.D. 250, which does not determine the usage of a hundred and fifty years earlier. In the Fourth Gospel itself there are four passages bearing upon the subject: (a) 1:39, in which there is nothing conclusive either way, though the usual New Testament reckoning seems the more probable. The term "day" had a popular usage loosely applied to hours before or after sunset, as we use the term now. (b) 4:6, where it is more probable that the time was midday than six P. M., inasmuch as so many things take place immediately in connection, and the day was presumably a short winter one (*cf.* John 4:35). The narrative suits a winter noon-tide. (c) 4:52, where the most probable supposition is that the father started from Capernaum very early in the morning, and after eight or nine hours traveling to Cana reached Jesus about one P.M. The cure did not occur until after that time, so that the servants waited until the next morning

before setting out, and the father did the same, so they met the second morning. It was also presumably in the winter time. (d) 19: 14, the hour when Pilate pronounced sentence upon Jesus. As the context here stands, the statement is incompatible with Mark 15: 25, which fixes the crucifixion at the third hour rather than the sixth. But the omission of this Mark datum from Matthew and Luke indicates some early obscurity as to the exact hour. To take the "sixth hour" of John here as six A.M., also raises extreme difficulties, for the Roman court could not be held before sunrise, six A.M., and yet a score of events connected with and subsequent to the trial before Pilate, including the trial before Herod, must all be crowded into a half-hour's time, or the writer could not speak of the sentence as being pronounced at the "sixth hour." This unusual method of reckoning time in the Fourth Gospel, then, does not satisfy the problem—there are certain difficulties in applying the Jewish mode of reckoning time to this last passage, but the other mode only raises others, and in the case of the first three passages no other reckoning than the common Jewish method is necessary or desirable. Strong evidence would be needed to make us believe that John departed from the Synoptic method of reckoning the hours of the day, and at least the evidence for the different method as stated by Westcott in his commentary on John is insufficient to prove such a departure.

"The Interrogation of a Good Conscience toward God," 1. Peter 3:21 (*'eperotēma*).—None of the current explanations of this word "interrogation," with its clause, seem to me fully to satisfy the connection. As to "inquiry," "request," or "*interrogation* of a good conscience," whether the genitive be taken as that of subject or object, no one of them represents any baptism known to the Scriptures; while the plain object of the apostle is to set forth the baptism that "now saveth." "Interrogation" (R. V.) further offends the English reader by its novelty and strangeness. Perhaps Archbishop Leighton makes out the strongest case for this word: "The word is judicial, alluding to the interrogation used in law for the trial and execution of processes. It is the great business of conscience to sit, and examine, and judge within; to hold courts in the soul. The word intends the whole correspondence of the conscience with God, and with itself as towards God or in the sight of God. This questioning or inquiry of conscience, and so its report or answer unto God, extends to all the affairs of the soul."

Quite satisfactory to the English reader is the rendering of the A. V., "the *answer* of a good conscience," because by taking the genitive as one of apposition it readily admits of an explanation that suits the connection. But the commentators deny us this or any meaning of *'eperotēma* that will make the clause yield this sense. "It signifies simply asking, inquiry," says Frömmüller; yet practically it is the meaning of the A. V. which he attaches to it; "Adhering to the idea of asking, the thing asked may be conceived as follows: How shall I rid myself of an evil conscience? Wilt Thou, most

holy God, again accept me, a sinner? Wilt Thou, Lord Jesus, grant me the communion of Thy death and life? Wilt Thou, O Holy Ghost, assure me of grace and adoption, and dwell in my heart? To these questions the triune Jehovah answers in baptism, Yea." But is not the efficient "Yea" of the triune Jehovah the baptism that saveth? "The antithesis of the putting away of the filth of the flesh suggests a reference to the moral import of baptism, to inward spiritual cleansing," is Fronmüller's own remark at the beginning of his discussion.

That Peter passes by the simple and more common *'erotēma* (request, interrogation), suggests that he had in view a use of the compound word which met his need. Have we not such a use in the Septuagint of Dan. 4:17? There this Greek word is employed as the equivalent of a Hebrew word meaning a subject of inquiry, a cause in law, and hence a decree. In this passage the rendering of the A. V. and R. V. ("demand") seems unsuitable, as there is no reference to any one on whom the demand is made. The angel is "crying" a decree or edict which was the outcome of the deliberations of the heavenly court or council of the watchers, the holy ones, on the case of Nebuchadnezzar. If Peter had this passage in mind, then the A. V. is in effect correct. Baptism, in its meaning and intention, is, according to Peter, the authoritative answer of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to all who turn obediently and with inquiring heart toward God, seeking his offered salvation and in its efficient administration (Mark 1:8) imparts or is the good conscience.

In support of this reference and interpretation I may add: (1) Commentators who have overlooked this case claim to have found other evidences in this epistle of mental association on the part of the writer with the book of Daniel; *e. g.*, "Peace be multiplied unto you," 1:2 with Dan. 4:1 and 6:25; and "the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you," 4:14 with the incident in Dan. 3:16-30. (2) It represents the baptism of the new covenant as the cleansing sought and promised under the old, cf. Ps. 51:7-10; Ezek. 36:25-27. (3) It connects it with the teaching of John and Jesus, with which Peter was familiar, cf. John 1:33, Acts 1:4, 5; 11:16. (4) It agrees with Peter's teaching elsewhere, Acts 2:38; also 10:47, with 11:15-17. Here the apostle regards the outpouring of the spirit as the definite decision from the side of heaven of the question started in his own mind as to the relation in which the gentiles, now being called, should stand to the promise and to the New Testament church. In other words, it was heaven's edict settling formally and openly his course as to their baptism. No one could now forbid water. (5) It exhibits the substantial agreement between Peter and Paul in their teaching on baptism, notwithstanding the wide diversity in their modes of expression. Both recognized the obligation attaching to the human administration, but associated saving efficacy with the divine administration, cf. Eph. 5:25; Tit. 3:5, 6; *et al.*

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

When any organization comes to take a recognized place in the world of work, people at once ask the questions: "How did it come about? What was the origin of the work?"

A brief historical statement in regard to the origin of the Institute will therefore be of interest to the readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

A *Correspondence School of Hebrew* was announced in December, 1880, and the first lessons were mailed February 14, 1881, to twenty persons. The school numbered one hundred and fifty in September, 1881. During the following year, this number increased to about three hundred. During the summer of 1882, the course of study which had consisted of but one set of lessons, was reorganized, and arrangements completed for an Elementary and an Intermediate, as well as a Progressive Course. By September, 1883, the students in these various courses numbered about five hundred. During 1885 and 1886 an entirely new set of instruction sheets for the Elementary and Intermediate Courses were prepared. In the autumn of 1886, courses in Arabic and Assyrian were announced and classes organized. The first Advanced Course in Hebrew and the Aramaic Course date from the year 1887.

A *Summer School of Hebrew* was held in July, 1881, at Morgan Park, Ill., with an attendance of twenty-three. The second School was held in July, 1882, at the same place, with an attendance of sixty-five. In July and August, 1883, two schools were held, one at Morgan Park, with an attendance of eighty-five, and one at Chautauqua, N. Y., with an attendance of forty. In 1884, three Schools were held: the first at Morgan Park, the second at Chautauqua, the third at Worcester, Mass. In 1885, four Schools were held, viz., at Philadelphia, Pa., New Haven, Conn., Morgan Park, and Chautauqua. In 1886, Schools were held at Philadelphia, Morgan Park, Newton Centre, Mass., Chautauqua, and the University of Virginia, Va. The Schools of 1887 were at Philadelphia, Newton Centre, University of Virginia, Chautauqua, and Evanston, Ill., and had an aggregate membership of nearly three hundred. The Schools of 1888 were held at Newton Centre, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Ga., and Evanston, Ill., with about the same membership. In this year two Schools were held at Chautauqua, N. Y.; these, however, were not under the direct management of the Institute. In 1889, Schools were held at New Haven, Philadelphia, Chautauqua, and Evanston. From the very beginning there has been a widening of the scope of these Schools, so that instruction has been given not only in Hebrew, but also in the various cognate languages, the Versions, Old Testament Interpretation, and Old Testament Theology, and this has continued from year to year until the present time.

The Correspondence and Summer Schools of Hebrew were conducted solely as a personal undertaking by the Principal from the date of their beginning until January 1, 1883. At this time the responsibility of the Schools was assumed by a company of gentlemen incorporated as a joint-stock company. At a meeting of this company, held July, 1884, it was decided to abandon, so far as the company was concerned, the educational part of the work, September 1st. From this date until January 1, 1885, the Schools again reverted to the Principal.

During these months it was proposed to effect an organization of Professors of Hebrew, to whom the work should be committed. This plan was consummated December 31, 1884, and, at that date, the work was placed for five years under the management of the *American Institute of Hebrew*, which included in its membership about seventy of the Professors of Hebrew and Old Testament subjects in the United States and Canada.

At a meeting of the American Institute of Hebrew, June, 1889, at New Haven, Conn., it was voted that the Institute give up its work December 1, 1889. When this vote was passed, it was understood that another organization would assume the responsibility of the work at that time.

At a meeting of certain gentlemen held in New York City, October 12th, there was organized *The American Institute of Sacred Literature*. Under this name the Institution has steadily gained influence. Very soon the need of New Testament work was discovered and Correspondence Courses in New Testament Greek were prepared. These led quickly to Correspondence Courses in the English Bible, and thus the range was completed, and work brought within the reach of thousands who could not study Greek or Hebrew. The correspondence work took time, however, and the question came "What can be done for the busy people; those who *read* their Bibles, but have no plan or system in their work?" The question has been most happily answered in the two four-year schemes, the *Bible Students' Reading Guild*, and the *Bible Study Course for Organizations for Christian Work*. The Institute now comprises three district departments of work, each with its various subdivisions as follows: 1. The Correspondence School; 2. The Special Course department, including the Reading Guild, the Course for Organizations, and the Popular Examinations; 3. The School and Lecture work, covering Extension Lecture Courses, special "Institutes," and Summer Schools.

Through all these departments not less than five thousand students have come more or less definitely under the instruction of the Institute during the past year.

Remembering the independent platform of the organization, its interdenominational relations, its freedom from obligations to publishing houses, and, above all, the fact that it stands primarily for no school of criticism, as such, but accepts the best elements of both the liberal and conservative schools, the capability of constant influence in the religious world cannot be over-estimated.

Work and Workers.

FRANK K. SANDERS, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in the Department of Biblical Literature at Yale University, has been advanced to the Woolsey Professorship of Biblical Literature, which includes also the charge of the department of Semitic Languages.

IT HAS been a matter of much interest to see who would be found to supply the place made vacant by the recent death of Professor E. C. Bissell, at the McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. The vacancy is now filled, at least tentatively so, by the appointment of Rev. ABEL H. HUIZINGA to the chair of Adjunct Professor of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis, Mr. Huizinga comes from the pastorate of the Dutch Reformed Church at New Platz, New York.

A NEW work of large interest and importance is the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, by Professor GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., of Free Church College, Glasgow, now announced by the publishing firm of Hodder & Stoughton. The volume deals with Palestine especially in its relation to the history of Israel and of the Early Church. Some of the chapters have already appeared as articles in *The Expositor*, but the number is small. It is a fresh work containing an exceptional amount of thorough study and original investigation. Much of the ground which Dr. Smith covers is disputed ground, but his judgment will be considered henceforth a prime authority. Both Western and Eastern Palestine fall within the scope of the work. It will be an excellent book for Bible students to own and use.

THIS has been a year of great, perhaps exceptional, losses from the ranks of biblical scholars. It is necessary to add another illustrious name to the list. Professor AUGUST DILLMANN, Ph.D., D.D., died July 4, at Berlin. He was born in Germany in 1823, so that he was of ripe years. He studied at Tübingen, where he became tutor in 1848, and four years later Professor Extraordinary. In 1854 he was appointed Professor Ordinary at Kiel, ten years later he accepted the same position at Giessen, and in 1869 he became Professor at Berlin, where he was still working at the time of his death. His contributions to the knowledge of the Old Testament are characterized by high scholarship, enduring solidity and reasonable conservatism. The influence which he has exerted in University life and work will perpetuate the great scholar's name for generations to come.

PROVISION has been made by the Board of Trustees for instruction during the coming year at Lane Seminary, the Presbyterian theological school so badly shattered by the doctrinal controversies now waging in that denomina-

tion. Professor E. D. Morris, who alone is retained from the old faculty, will lecture as usual upon Systematic Theology and History of Doctrine. Professor H. W. Hulbert, of Marietta College, will once more give his courses in Church History and Homiletics. Rev. Kemper Fullerton will give instruction in Hebrew and New Testament Greek. Dr. Alexander B. Riggs will provide the department of New Testament Exegesis. There will be special lecturers during the year, among them Dr. W. E. Moore on Church Polity, Dr. Herrick Johnson on Preaching, Dr. T. W. Chambers on the Decalogue, and President G. S. Burroughs on New Testament Introduction.

THE work done upon Concordances of the Bible during late years has been toward the manufacture of exhaustive and elaborate, erudite, and enormous productions. These are of the highest value to scholars and to a certain portion of the clergy. But such massive volumes as Young's Concordance, and quite recently Strong's Concordance, are not for the general public. The general public has had to be satisfied with a Concordance issued a hundred and fifty years ago, and which has since undergone no thorough revision; or they have more commonly put up with the painfully abridged concordances published with other "Helps" in the backs of the Teacher's Bibles. Some relief from this situation is now offered. The Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society announce that they will issue in September a *Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*, prepared by Rev. J. B. R. Walker. It is presumably a revision of Cruden's work, adding some fifty thousand references, of course upon the basis of the version of 1611. It will contain 950 pages, and will be sold at \$2.00. This work will therefore be the best for general use until that time in the near future when the general public awakes to the fact of the superiority of the version of 1881 over that of 1611, and demands the better version of Bible publishers.

ONE of the most common and constant needs of the Bible student, in his endeavor to understand and use these Jewish and Christian historical writings, is a chronological chart showing the absolute and relative dates of persons and incidents. This need is well supplied by a chart just issued, the work of CHARLES F. KENT, Ph.D., Instructor of Biblical Literature at the University of Chicago. It is entitled the *Student's Chronological Chart of Biblical History*. (Chicago: Congregational Bookstore. Price, 25 cts.). The earliest date is given as 1037 B. C., the accession of Saul, and the scale extends to 70 A.D., the fall of Jerusalem. Along this scale is arranged at the proper historical points the men and events of Jewish and Christian history, as recorded in the Bible and extra-biblical literature. To this is usefully added, in parallel columns, a similar exhibit of the history of those nations who during these eleven hundred years had interrelations with Israel, namely, Syria, Assyria, Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Macedonia and Rome. One cannot know or teach the Bible without such a chart either in the mind or in the hand, and for the majority the former is impracticable. This chart is therefore earnestly

recommended to all whom this notice reaches. It should be kept in one's Bible, or hanging by one's table where the eye will often fall upon it.

INFORMATION comes that a new Bible Dictionary is being prepared in England. It was projected by Professor Wm. Robertson Smith, and at his death was put into the hands of Professor T. K. Cheyne, who will carry the work forward to completion. This great new work will represent the school to which both scholars belong, the liberal English school of criticism. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, even since the recent revision and expansion of its first volume by English scholars, represents the traditional and conservative school, or is a compromise between the traditional and progressive which permits it to be entirely satisfactory to neither. After the publication of this new work we shall be as well provided for as Germany, which has its conservative and exceedingly useful Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums* (second edition by Professor Friedrich Baethgen, of Griefswald), and its radical Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*. Probably the general position of the Smith-Cheyne dictionary is already foreshadowed in many articles by Professor Smith and others in the ninth edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica*. That it will be of the highest interest and importance, and that it will be awaited with impatient eagerness, but mildly states the case. Let both schools make known their positions in the fullest and clearest way. It is the only method by which the truth can be ascertained and established.

THAT the whole civilized world is intensely alive to anything which throws light upon the career or work of Jesus Christ is a significant fact with which we are all familiar, but it has received new demonstration of late by the precipitate haste with which the public purchased and read a work purporting to give the *Unknown Life of Jesus Christ*, as the volume is entitled. The editor, or as seems now quite likely, the author, of the volume is a certain Russian by the name of Nicolas Notovitch, a man of no known attainments in any direction, certainly not in the direction of biblical history and criticism. He alleges that the document of which he gives a translation, bearing upon the "Unknown Life of Christ," was discovered by him in India at the monastery of Himis, in the town of Leh, which is the capital of Ladak. This "discovery" was made in 1887 during a journey through India, a country with which the author claims to be infatuated. An accident by which he was detained for a short time at this very convent gave him the opportunity to hear the manuscript read to him in the original, the Thibetan tongue, by one of the monks, and as his interpreter translated it into French, Mr. Notovitch says he wrote it down, with the expectation of giving his great "discovery" to the world as soon as he returned to Europe, inasmuch as he "entertained no doubt of the authenticity of this narrative, written with the utmost precision by Brahman historians and Buddhists of India and Nepal." After some delay, without being able to secure the attention of any acknowledged biblical scholar, he printed his translation in Paris, preceding it with a hundred pages

descriptive of his journeys in the Orient, and supplementing it with half as many more pages of "commentary," as he calls it. The translation occupies fifty pages, which he has for convenience divided into 14 chapters and 245 verses.

The document is called "The Life of Saint Issa (Jesus), the Best of the Sons of Men." It records that Issa at the age of thirteen was so besieged by parents who wanted him for a son-in-law that he "clandestinely left" Palestine, and went to India to study Buddhism, of which he became an apt pupil and later a saint. At the age of twenty-nine he returned to his own country and immediately aroused the whole population, priests, Pharisees, and the masses, to an enthusiastic acceptance of his leadership, promising he would fulfill their temporal and political hopes by freeing the nation from Rome. But Pilate, wishing to exterminate this dangerous revolutionist, called upon the Sanhedrin to condemn him to death, which of course they would not do, for Issa was their pride and hope. Pilate, therefore, succeeded through false witnesses (one of them Judas, who was afterward hanged by Pilate in order that he might not confess his crime) in getting a condemnation, and so had Issa crucified. Pilate had the body removed from its first place of burial, whence grew the fiction of the resurrection.

Such is a synopsis of the narrative. Mr. Notovitch claims that the Buddhist chroniclers who compiled the document, writing immediately after the Passion, and with the advantage of gathering the most accurate information on all points, have given us "a complete and exhaustive description of the life of Jesus." It is with a sublime ignorance and conceit that our author writes: "I am inclined to believe that nobody will hesitate to acknowledge that this version, recorded within three or four years after the death of Christ from the testimony of eye-witnesses, is more likely to bear the stamp of truth than the narratives of the evangelists, who wrote at divers epochs, and so long a time after these events took place, that we cannot be astonished if the facts have been altered or distorted." No evidence is given by Mr. Notovitch to prove, no hint is given that there could any evidence be found to prove, that this obscure Buddhistic manuscript is of any antiquity, or at least was written "within three or four years of the death of Christ." That is a magnificent assumption which might well be characterized by a plainer if less agreeable term. The whole story bears upon its face its apocryphal character, and perhaps its fraudulent origin.

All are well aware of the fact that the imaginations of men have been busy from the second century until the present time, with supplying the missing history of the first thirty years of Jesus' life, and with arranging the public career of Jesus to meet their predilections as to how it ought have been. The first tendency has given rise to a mass of spurious, so-called Apocryphal Gospels, the second tendency has given rise to various theories of the career of Christ which have no historical basis. Mr. Notovitch's work belongs to this class of literature about Christ. It is not impossible that he actually found this docu-

ment as alleged, and that it belongs to the list of Apocryphal Gospels. He challenges investigation to prove that he did so find it, and that the manuscript is still there where anyone can see it. But that is not the view which has been taken of Mr. Notovitch's book. It has been plainly denounced as a fraudulent composition, made out of whole cloth by this man who sought thereby to win notoriety or else—wealth. This is the judgment of Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in his review of the book in the *North American Review* for May; also of the reviewer in *The Independent* of June 28th, and of Lic. Preuschen in the *Christliche Welt*, who finds that it contains contradictions on the part of the editor, that the literary character of the work is entirely non-Thibetan and non-Indian, and that there are plain anachronisms and contradictions in the contents themselves.

If that judgment seems harsh, it still remains true that men will do strange things for the sake of gain, and in such a venture a man would not be likely to be prosecuted for obtaining money under false pretences, however much his action might merit such a punishment. The public would of course make large purchases of any work claiming to give new information about the life of Christ, and it would not wait to learn whether the work was of any value. It should wait, to be sure, but it doesn't. "The public loves to be humbugged" was the crystallization of earthly wisdom from a certain distinguished American, and one can witness the truth of the statement frequently. The worthless volume ran through eight editions in France, and found large sales in this country. It will now sink into oblivion, having poured coin into Mr. Notovitch's coffers, and having contributed, in a way immensely gratifying to him doubtless, toward the overthrow in some people's minds of the authentic records of the life of Christ. The latter end seems to have been subordinate in the author's purpose only to the former. The author has succeeded admirably from his own point of view, and he now announces that he will soon put out a work on Moses, to prove that he was not an Israelite, but a younger son of Pharaoh who, being debarred by his elder brother from the Egyptian throne, started, in an adjoining territory, a kingdom of his own, with subjects abducted from his father's realm. This fact he thinks may be drawn from this Buddhistic document, and "we must admit—without much difficulty, I believe—that the Buddhist verses are more plausible than the biblical paraphrase."

It is hardly necessary to warn the public further against anything that appears under Mr. Notovitch's name. But is the lesson of the imposture learned? Will people be wise enough to wait about spending money until they are sure that what they are receiving in return is bread?

Book Reviews.

The Twelve Minor Prophets. Expounded by Dr. C. VON ORELLI, of the University of Basel. Translated by Rev. J. S. BANKS, of Headingley College, Leeds. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pages vii and 405. Price, \$3.00.

This is the age of commentaries. The crop has been, and is, so abundant that no one beside the specialist is able to decide on the respective merits of all. They are critical, expository, devotional and . . . *mixed*. They are radical, moderate, conservative, and traditional. But the new method of issuing series prepared by many scholars and put out under one editorial management has very decided advantages. 1) It assigns Scripture books to specialists, and secures first-class work. 2) It brings the completion of the publication within a reasonable limit of time. 3) It presents the best thought of a single period of time, instead of gathering up the varying views of several years.

Germany has of late years issued several series of Commentaries on the Bible, each from its own point of view. The volume before us is one of a moderately conservative series, issued under the editorial care of Professors Zöckler and Strack. A few of the number have put on an English dress. Professor Orelli's Prophecies of Isaiah, and Prophecies of Jeremiah have achieved that distinction. The present volume also is deserving of its place.

The author, after a brief introduction, treats the books in their usual order in the Hebrew Bible. His method is very simple and plain. In a heavily leaded introduction he discusses briefly the author, time, and place of composition, with characteristics, etc., as each book demands. Then follows at the top of the page a new translation—these occupying about one-third of the space—and on the lower two-thirds the critical and exegetical notes. At the close of each such translation and critical notes, sometimes of sections of a book, sometimes of a book—the reader finds the *exposition*. The author gives, in popular form, the story as brought out in the translation.

The positions taken by Professor Orelli are by no means startling. The disputed books are located as follows: Joel is put in the reign of Jehoash, second successor of Jehoram, in the first half of his forty years' reign, "Obadiah's oracle was occasioned by the conquest of Jerusalem under Jehoram, and arose soon after that event" (p. 158). Jonah was an historical character, but the events here described were probably written after his day—possibly post-exile. "The fish-miracle is not the product of his [the writer's] fancy. Whether we regard it as a historical fact or assign it to legend, it was certainly matter of tradition" (p. 168). Zechariah is assigned to three

periods: Chapters one to eight to Zechariah himself, chapters nine to eleven to a later contemporary of Hosea, chapters twelve to fourteen to a contemporary of Jeremiah. Common sense and matured opinion characterize his discussions, translations, notes, and expositions. There are, of course, some views peculiar to the author which would not command universal approval, but on the whole there is a breadth of view, a candidness of expression, and a devotional spirit such as win the best attention of the reader.

The translation from the German is also subject to some criticism. It is impossible in every case to carry over the full thought of the German into good grammatical English, but some short expressions and idioms ought to be done into their English idioms, and complicated sentences should be broken up into readable form. On page 3 the translator makes the author say: "I have a college course on Hosea to Jonah by Fr. Delitzsch," where *collegium* is entirely mistranslated; on page 170 the author is giving Kleinert's view of Jonah's teaching, and adds a reference *in loco*; the translator gives us: "See the details there, p. 168"; "The often attempted proof" (p. 308), etc. These distract the attention of an English reader, though do not materially lessen the value of the work. This hand-book of the Minor Prophets will take its place among the best.

PRICE.

Outline Studies in the Books of the Old Testament. By W. G. MOOREHEAD, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the United Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Xenia, O. Chicago and New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 12mo. Pp. 363. Price, \$1.50.

This is a devotional survey of the Old Testament Books. The author states in the preface that it is "neither critical nor expository." The outline studies are intended to be no more than helps in the reading of the Scriptures: and "are designed for beginners in Bible study." Their treatment exhibits a large acquaintance with the older literature given to the devotional discussion of the books of the Old Testament. Professor Moorehead follows strictly in conservative lines, and gives the pith and core of each book in the order in which they occur in our English Bible. There is an abundance of room for just such a book as this among the less critical and the more devotional reader.

He treats of the author, time and place of composition, the analysis quite in detail, and then of several of the most important themes of each book. He shows a large amount of good judgment in his selection and discussion of topics, and gives the reader plenty of references for verifying his statements. His views of types and symbols will not be acceptable to some scholars, but they are not to be cast aside without consideration. On the whole, the outlines will prove to be very valuable to the average Bible student, and full of suggestion to the more mature and thoughtful reader.

PRICE.

Biblischer Kommentar ueber die Psalmen von Franz Delitzsch. Fuenfte ueberarbeitete Auflage herausgegeben von Friedrich Delitzsch.

Although four years have elapsed since the death of Dr. Franz Delitzsch this new edition of one of his masterpieces—his “favourite commentary”—is sure of an enthusiastic welcome from the many who have long cherished a regard bordering on reverence for its author, and will be perused with deep and respectful interest even by those who are far removed from his opinions. It represents his latest thoughts about the Psalter. His final judgment on every important question of criticism and exegesis is to be found in this volume. As the editor, the renowned Assyriologist, Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch was known by his father to hold different views on some points of considerable moment he was not authorized to handle the work as German commentaries are so often handled after the writer's decease. The great exegete wished his exposition of the Psalms to be placed again before the world just as he left it, with the exception of material referring to language in reference to which the editor was permitted to use his discretion. He has done so with considerable freedom. Much that was inaccurate, or misleading, or doubtful, has been expunged, although not all. In some instances a questionable etymological remark has been allowed to remain because it helps the reader to understand the choice of a word in the translation. The latter has not been interfered with in the least. Addenda by other persons to the fourth edition have been remorselessly removed. As they include at least one useful index and the contributions of Wetzstein and Fleischer, this part of the editor's activity is by no means wholly commendable, although he has striven to compensate for his omissions by reprinting from the first edition the dissertation on the accentuation of the poetic books by Dr. S. Baer, which is the only source of information on the subject. The new matter from the pen of the original writer refers to eighty psalms. In many cases there is no more than one note or a few notes. On Psalms 2, 8, 22, 24, 25, 31, 33, 34, 42 and 43, 51, 66, 67, 69, 80, 92, 98, 109, 110, 113, 118 and 141 there are in each instance several notes. Psalms 40, 63, 68, 72, 91, 95 and 96 are glossed with many notes. These addenda supply the student with more carefully sifted material, but in no way affect the character of the book. The tone of the latter is to all intents and purposes the same in this last edition as in the second, which appeared in 1867.

The most remarkable phenomenon is the reproduction of the introductory chapters from the fourth edition without a single alteration of moment. As regards the origin and history of the Psalter, Dr. Delitzsch saw no necessity for deviating in the least from the position which he took up in 1883. In the mature judgment of this accomplished scholar the ascription of many of the Psalms to David in the present Hebrew text is justified by their characteristics. There has been no change of front in reference to the Psalter like that which was found to be necessary in respect of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah. This adherence to earlier views on the part of so diligent

and open-minded a scholar is well deserving of the attention of those who are prone to adopt the latest theory without due consideration. In the course of the preface the editor makes an announcement of great interest to students. He proposes to issue shortly a dissertation entitled "Assyriological Glosses on the Old Testament Psalter," which will comprise all the Assyrian and Babylonian material at present available for the illustration of the subject. It will include the discussion of analogous phrases, images and thoughts; a comparison of Hebrew and Babylonian metres; and remarks on parallels which extend to whole classes and not merely to individual psalms.

W. T. S.

The Book of Daniel. Its Prophetic Character and Spiritual Meaning. By WILLARD H. HINKLEY. Boston: Massachusetts New-Church Union, 1884. Pp. 191. Price, \$1.25.

This treatment of the Book of Daniel is avowedly Swedenborgian. And this perhaps sufficiently indicates its scope. The writer is manifestly an Old Testament scholar, who is thoroughly familiar with the facts necessary to an interpretation of the prophecy. But he sets aside altogether the methods of historical interpretation, and persistently confines himself to mysticism. From this point of view, his presentation is most able. The work is an admirable exposition of the possibilities of mystical exegesis. A single quotation will indicate the method of treatment. In discussing the four kings of Dan. 11:2, the writer says (p. 119):

"The images (of the second chapter) are repeated, but four kings are spoken of. . . . The error is in speaking of the four kingdoms as if they referred to the four great monarchies of the East. Those four kings do not refer to earthly powers, but to the evil and false influences which prevailed at the end of the church, which the Lord overcame at His second coming."

T. G. S.

Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius. 1 Teil. **Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand.** VON ADOLF HARNACK. Bearbeitet unter Mitwirkung von E. Preuschen. (Leipzig, 1893; J. C. Hinrichs'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung). Royal 8vo.; lxi. + 1020 pp; M. 35; bound, M. 38.

A Literary History of Early Christianity: including the Fathers and the chief heretical writers of the ante-nicene Period. By CH. TH. CRUTTWELL, 2 vols. (London: Griffin & Co., 1893); Royal 8vo. pp. xxi. + 686; cloth bound.

In the spring of 1891 the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin resolved to publish a new edition of the early Greek Fathers. For this purpose A. Harnack proposed to publish within three years a critical survey of the material in hand and a guide for the history of tradition of early Christian literature,

so far as could be done without extensive investigations and researches for new MSS. The Academy accepted the offer, and gave Harnack an able collaborator in Dr. Erwin Preuschen. The result lies before us as a stout volume of over one thousand pages, which, as Harnack states, in the preface, is intended primarily to serve as an introduction to a future history of the early Christian literature, to be *mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, as well as to be a guide for a new edition of the whole pre-Eusebian Christian literature. The author has set out to answer most completely and exhaustively the three questions: 1) What and how much has been written by the Christian Fathers of the first three centuries? 2) How much of this literature do we still possess as a whole or in fragments, and 3) How and by what means has this literature come down to us? A careful perusal of the book fills us with renewed admiration of the industry and learning of its author, who, himself, has done the main portion of the work, Preuschen contributing about one-third. Smaller, but by no means less important contributions were made by Achelis (on *Hippolytus of Rome*), Bonwetch, Carl Schmidt, Burchardi, and Stübe. To save space the author has been compelled to omit all references of later writers to the Manichæans, as well as the later "*testimonia*" on Origen and Eusebius, which alone would have filled a stately volume. There is scarcely anything, worthy of notice, that has escaped Harnack or his collaborators, and we hail with great joy and deep gratitude this grand *thesaurus* of material, trusting that in the near future it may be followed by its companion volume containing the historical development of early Christian literature, known to none as well as to Harnack. Of the great amount of new information which this second volume may contain, we receive a foretaste in the introductory remarks (pp. xxi-lxi) on the "*Grundzüge der Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der vornicänischen Litteratur in älterer Zeit.*" These remarks are of the greatest importance, owing to the new and at times startling views relative to the true forces at work within the church that influenced the preservation or caused the destruction and ruin of the early literature of the church. No student of patristic literature can, henceforth, afford to neglect or overlook the minute information contained in this book, which proves a sure and safe guide, giving in the case of all the earlier writers the necessary details with the greatest possible completeness.

The vast material is divided into thirteen parts, of which we can only give the main headings. They are as follows: 1) The sub-apostolic Greek Literature down to Justin Martyr (the New Testament writings and Gnosticism excepted). It treats especially of the apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Of great interest and importance are Harnack's remarks on the presbyter John, proving that he cannot have been identical with the Apostle John, and on Aristion, to which now Conybeare's discussion of Aristion as the author of St. Mark 16:9-20 (*Expositor*, October, 1893, 241-4, and Harnack, *Theol. Litztg.*, 1893, No. 23,) will have to be added. 2) The remains of Gnostic, Marcionite, and Ebionite Literature. 3) Christian writers of Asia Minor, Gaul,

and Greece, from the latter half of the second century on. Here, our interest centers in the paragraphs on the Montanists and their opponents, Melito of Sardes, and Irenaeus. The next four chapters discuss the literature from the latter half of the second to the beginning of the fourth century. We begin our journey in 4) Egypt, where the four great Alexandrian Fathers Pantæus, Clement, Origen, and Dionysius occupy more than half of the two hundred pages given to this section, which among others discusses Firmilian of Cæsarea (*ca.* 230-68), and his letter to Cyprian of Carthage; the writings of Gregorius Thaumaturgus, the literary activity of Hesychius, to whom we owe one of the three main recensions of the Septuagint; the ecclesiastical canons of the Egyptian church; Methodius, bishop of Olympus, (died 311 A.D.) and Adamantius' (Pseudo-Origen) "Dialogue against the Marcionites." 5) From Egypt our attention is turned to Palestine and Syria, where we meet some well-known names, *e.g.*, Tatian; Theophilus, of Antioch; Julius Africanus; and Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, who has lately been recalled to our memory through the discovery of the apocryphal gospel and revelation of Peter. Paul, of Samosata, the delightful and polished heretic; Lucian, the author of the third recension of the Septuagint, and Eusebius, of Cæsarea, claim a large share. 6) Rome and Italy have produced many contributors to this early literature, chief among whom we mention Praxeas, Noëtus, and Sabellius, famous for their heresies; Hippolytus, Minucius Felix, *Octavius*. The 7th chapter takes up the remaining Latin literature of the Western fathers, outside of Rome and Italy. Special regard is paid to the African Church fathers, *viz.*: Tertullian, Donatus, Cyprian, and Lactantius, the Cicero among the fathers. 8) Pre-Constantine literature of uncertain date and place is next taken up. Then follow three short chapters *a)* on doubtful and fictitious writings and literary curiosities (about 76, arranged alphabetically); *b)* a survey of Christian poetry, and *c)* decrees of the church councils, *acta martyrum*, etc. An important chapter (xi.) contains a critical summary of later Jewish literature, part of which was early adopted by Christian writers and adapted to their own needs. A list of Greek and Roman *testimonia*, edicts, and polemical tracts; and four lists containing titles of old Latin translations of Christian Greek writings; Syriac, Slavic, and Coptic translations of the early fathers conclude the main part of the work, to which are added three very full and exhaustive indexes. The whole, indeed, is a *monumentum aere perennius*, which will, at all times, call forth but scanty additions, such as have been given by Harnack in his *Selbstanzeige*, (*Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1893, No. 22), by Th. Zahn in the "*Theol. Litteraturblatt*," 1893, No. 43; Joh. Dräseke in "*Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*," 1893, No. 49, and by A. Hilgenfeld in "*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*," 1894, No. 17.

Of an entirely different character is Mr. Cruttwell's work. It is a general survey of early Christian literature as literature, being written neither very popularly nor strictly scientific. The period with which he deals runs from

the close of the canon to the threshold of the Arian controversy. The literature is divided into the five sections: 1) The Apostolic Fathers, in which translations of the Didachè and the Gospel of Peter are given at full length. 2) Heretical sects, which, more than any other section, betrays the marks of haste and compilation. 3) After a lengthy introduction the Apologists are taken up, including Dionysius of Corinth and Maximus; Hegesippus and Irenaeus. 4) The Alexandrian school, including Methodius; and 5) Latin Christianity from Tertullian to Victorinus. Considerable extracts illustrate the style of a number of the writers. The author's purpose was mainly literary, that is, "I have endeavored to point out the leading intellectual conceptions which animate the various writers, to indicate the degree of success attained by each, and to estimate the permanent value of each one contribution to the growing edifice of human thought and knowledge." The work is well done, as far as it goes. The author has read widely for himself, and that not only amongst the writers he treats of. The connection of early Christian thought with classical literature is carefully traced. The general reader will find on the whole a pleasantly written account of the literature in hand, brought fairly up to date, with few exceptions, *e. g.*, on Hippolytus, etc.

W. M.-A.

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It is a fact beyond dispute that there is today an interest in Jesus of Nazareth more universal, more intelligent, more reverent than ever before. It is also a fact that the historical records that contain the life of Christ have, during the last century, been subjected to a criticism untrammelled in its freedom and unprecedented in its severity. To *opinions* of the Christ this criticism has been pretty thoroughly destructive, so that Dr. Keim in his "Jesus of Nazara" can say: "Our century has cancelled the judgment of the centuries." But it seems that in direct proportion as this and that opinion of the Christ has been undermined, to just that extent has that which is permanent and essential in his character and teaching been accorded a wider and more rational acceptance. When we speak of interest in Jesus of Nazareth, we do not mean simply the interest of the intellect, for it will be conceded that the life he lived, and the truth he taught, are being practically applied with a thoroughness and persistency never before known. If it be answered that this acceptance of Christ takes place in spite of this criticism and not because of it, it is sufficient to note that his domain today is broader than christendom, and his authority as a religious teacher is recognized outside of any church or sect.

THIS prominence of the Christ is the more extraordinary inasmuch as the gospel literature, through this criticism, has had its human element made more and more conspicuous. The gospels have been studied side by side with the records of the other religions of the world ; the methods of investigation have been the same, and applied with impartial rigor. So that if there is as a result a tendency to exalt the Christ, it has been by a humanizing of the records that contain his life. This idea is summed up in a dictum of Matthew Arnold : "Christ was above the heads of his *reporters*."

THIS apparent paradox manifests itself in the fact ever becoming more apparent, of Christ's indifference to the matter of preserving any written record of his words or deeds ; an indifference not only affecting his own personal attitude in the matter, but also manifesting itself in the choice of his disciples (who were not, and were not destined to be scribes), and reproducing in them a similar indifference. Granting that the Gospels of Matthew and John issued directly from the apostolic circle in the form in which they now appear, there is no indication that these apostles were delegated by Christ to perform this work. That the work of these two records is incomplete, and that it was made more complete by two writers who were not immediate followers of Christ, shows that the personal indifference of Christ to a written record, created a general indifference to it on the part of his followers. If Paul became Christianity's first theologian, it has never been claimed for him that he was in any sense the biographer of Christ. It is the absence of reference to the historical life of Christ that is conspicuous in the writings of Paul. There seems to be on Paul's part a similar indifference to putting in written form the main body of his own teaching. Paul taught his communities in person orally ; that oral teaching is lost. His letters were an expedient, adopted for the maintenance of his authority over churches formed while he was elsewhere founding in person other churches. His letters do not contain the history of Christ, or the content of Christ's teaching. Neither do they contain the body of Paul's teaching. They are

the letters of a pastor; they contain corrections, suggestions, amplifications of statements previously uttered.

THIS indifference on the part of the disciples finds further confirmation in the gospels, and in the traditions bearing upon the origin of the gospels, inasmuch as they go to show that the suggestion of writing, the initial impulse came not from Christ or from the person writing, but from outsiders whose interest had been quickened by the spoken word. Eusebius quotes a tradition from Clement of Alexandria in regard to Mark which says: "The cause for which the Gospel of Mark was written was this: When Peter had publicly preached the word at Rome, and proclaimed the gospel by the spirit, many who were present requested Mark, as he had followed from afar and remembered what he had said, to write down what he had spoken; and when he had composed the gospel, he gave it to those who had required it of him. When Peter learned of this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it."¹ The Muratorian fragment relates the origin of the Gospel of John as follows: "The author of the fourth among the gospels is John, one of the disciples. As his fellow disciples and the bishops exhorted him (to write) he said to them, 'fast with me these three days, and we will mutually relate to each other what shall have been revealed to each one.' In that same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should relate everything in his own name, all the others revising (his narrative)." Luke in his preface draws a distinct line between the "eye witnesses," that is, the apostles, who simply "handed-down" the facts and the "many who attempted to draw up a connected narrative." These attempts he modestly disapproves of and gives as a reason for the writing of his own gospel, his interest in Theophilus and his better equipment for the task.

WHEN we consider then that we have no written word from Christ, that, in the selection of his disciples, their ability to become historians was not at all a condition of discipleship;

¹ Eusebius, Book VI., 14.

that from only two of the twelve has there issued for us any written records; that from ten outside of the circle of immediate followers there have come written records that largely supplement the records of Matthew and John, we are in a position to appreciate the fragmentary character of the material that has been preserved. For proof of this the gospels themselves furnish most abundant evidence. Each one of these gospels contains material peculiar to itself; and in the case of Matthew and Luke as compared with Mark or with each other, or in the case of John compared with the other three, the amount of this material is very considerable. Each gospel too is conscious of teaching and activity that lie outside the sphere of its own statements; for example, in Mark one of the most conspicuous features is a repeated reference to the fact that *Christ was teaching*, that his work was primarily that of teaching; but what he taught, the content of his instruction, we are not told. Christ taught and was interrupted in his teaching by the demands for healing. The author, especially in the earlier part of the gospel, gives us in detail an account of the interpretations rather than of the teaching. The few sayings of Christ which he records are brief, sententious utterances, proverbial in form and striking in character, and for the most part array Christ in sharpest contrast with the teachings of the scribes. These utterances would be, in the very nature of the case, most readily remembered. Teaching other than this we do not have until the author comes to the parables. If in the Gospel of Mark only there was reference to teaching not recorded, we might feel that Matthew and Luke have recorded what Mark refers to. But the Gospels of Matthew and Luke which are much fuller than Mark, also call attention to activity and to teaching that is summarized but not recounted by them. In the case of the fourth gospel the content is almost entirely outside of the sphere of the synoptics, and the author of it is conscious that he is selecting his material to contribute to a desired purpose, omitting much that he does not require. In the early part of this gospel the connection of events is very close. It gives us the work of successive days. In chapters thirteen to seventeen there is recorded the sayings of a single

night. When we take into account the amount of material narrated in this gospel drawn from the activity of a few days, and further consider that at the author's own statement, the work of even these few days is but partially given, we must be ready to admit that we have in the four gospels by no means a complete account of the life of the Christ. It is not the completeness and perfection of the records, but the completeness and perfection of the character partially described that is borne in upon us.

ONE other feature that characterizes the modern treatment of the gospels is worthy of mention. Under the pressure of the mechanical theory of inspiration, biblical scholars in the past have felt it incumbent upon them to harmonize all the varying standpoints and statements of the four records into one concordant and consistent picture, to make them tell one story and the same story. It has not been their purpose to "exhibit the differences between the several gospels as fully and as fairly as the resemblances." For the historical study of the gospels there will ever be a demand for an arrangement of the material that will conveniently group the contents of the records as to time and place and theme; that is, a harmony in the sense of an arrangement of data that will facilitate a scientific investigation of the literature. In any other sense the effort of harmony belongs to the past. "Our knowledge of the details of the Lord's life is far too fragmentary to justify us in an endeavor to make a complete arrangement of those which have been recorded." Energy formerly expended thus in apologetics is now being directed to the discovery and development of the literature as a literature having its origin, its lines of growth and fruitage, to ascertain which gospel was written first, under what circumstances it had its origin; what are the distinctive features of it; what its emphasis. Then to discover which gospel comes next, what are the lines of development; wherein is the picture changed, and what was the occasion of the change. It is in this direction that biblical scholarship during the last century has done its most successful work. To recog-

nize that the Gospel of Mark was written first; to see what it was in the Christ which first interested men, first impressed itself upon men; to see how the later gospels, while holding to these first impressions, modified them to some extent and added other significant features in their portrayal of Christ, places one in the most advantageous position for an appreciative study of the literature and at the same time for a comprehension of the chief character in the literature.

SIDE by side then with a process of criticism of the gospels, exacting, unsparing, and revolutionary in its results, it may be safely asserted that the authority of Christ as a religious teacher has been steadily on the increase, extensively and intensively. Jew and Gentile, churchman and non-churchman, are coming more completely under his sway. His teaching is being applied to the social and political fabric with a vigor and boldness that makes it look as if the heretics and martyrs of the coming age would come from the ranks of social and political reform rather than from the church. Paul long ago recognized that the "treasure of the gospel was in an earthen vessel." The searching criticism of our century has undoubtedly discovered and made more prominent the earthen character of the vessel. Its chinks and imperfections are ever more apparent; but through them, and because of them, there exhales with more perfect freedom and fullness, the fragrance and aroma of "Him who was the way, the truth, the life."

THE PSALMS OF THE PHARISEES.

By PROFESSOR FRANK C. PORTER,
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Importance to Christians of a knowledge of Pharisaism.—Difficulty of gaining this knowledge from extant sources.—Value of the Psalms of Solomon as a source.—Editions.—Origin of the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties.—Crises in the history of their conflict.—The Psalms of Solomon the product of the decisive period of this history.—Two fundamentals of Pharisaism: Messianic Hope and Law.—Remarks on free will, Messiah, resurrection.—Good and bad elements in Pharisaism.

The end of the historical study of the Bible is to give an account and explanation, as complete and exact as possible, of the beginning of Christianity. The crucial question is, How far was the Christian religion the outcome of a development, and how far the creation of Christ? What was old and what was new in the teaching and work of Jesus of Nazareth? On the answer to this question even one's religious profession depends. If Christianity was a natural product of Judaism, in the direct line of development, and Jesus was only one, even if the greatest, of Israel's prophets, we ought to call ourselves Jews, unless, indeed, we renounce the religion of the Bible altogether. If we ascribe a greater degree of originality and a final perfection to the teachings of Jesus we may claim to be Unitarian Christians. If we are Evangelicals it should be because we find in the words and person of Christ such a new word of God, such a new life from God, that we are bound to believe in a unique and supernatural deed and manifestation of God in him. So much is involved in the question, What is new and what is old in the religion of Jesus? To its answer all Old Testament and all New Testament studies essentially contribute, but in the nature of the case an especially direct and decisive contribution should be expected from the study of Pharisaism in the time of Christ. A few obvious considerations will justify this statement.

Christ came denying the legalism, but reaffirming, though in a transformed sense, the Messianic hope of Pharisaic Judaism. It was in an important sense through Pharisaism that the conceptions and the phrases, Son of Man, Kingdom of God, Eternal Life, were ready and fitted for his use. We cannot know what he meant by them unless we know what they meant to those to whom he spoke. We cannot know what was new in his use of them unless we know what was old. On the other hand, it was Pharisaism that fostered that religious mind and heart in Judaism which revealed and condemned itself by the rejection of Christ. If Christianity was a fulfilment of one element of Pharisaism, it was a protest against another, and that the prevailing element, of which Rabbinism and the Talmud were the fulfilment. But contrast contributes as much as agreement to the answer of our question. The Pharisees were the first foes whom Christ encountered. Their opposition to him must essentially have influenced the forms of his teaching and the lines of his activity, as it still more clearly determined the outward course and end of his earthly life. After the resurrection it was to Pharisees that Christianity was first preached; it was Pharisaic objections and attacks that gave occasion to the first argumentative formulations of the new faith, and that called forth its consciousness of independence. A Pharisee became the apostle of Christ to the Gentiles, and Pharisaic tendencies within the church, Pharisaic denials of his gospel and apostleship, were the chief—not, of course, the only—occasion for the letters that bear the name of Paul.

If the importance of a knowledge of Pharisaism be conceded, it must be said that there are serious obstacles in the way of securing it. The New Testament is the most important source, and gives us vivid, deep-going impressions, but still leaves us in the dark at many important points. It gives few details of Pharisaic doctrine, and no account of the origin of the party. The Old Testament throws light on the beginnings of that division within Judaism which led, though not until after the Maccabean wars, to the formation of the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties. But the earlier division was not identical with the

later. We need to understand the process intervening between those beginnings and that outcome which the New Testament writers and Josephus knew. The Talmud and other rabbinical writings are in a sense the final testament of Pharisaism, and Jewish writers generally insist on their adequacy as a historical source. But one rightly hesitates to use with implicit confidence sources from two to seven centuries later than the period he is studying, however strongly the integrity of Jewish oral tradition is urged. In fact, the picture of the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties drawn from these books is now known to be, in essential respects, unhistorical. We are thrown back upon the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings. Such books as II Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, perhaps Enoch, perhaps the Assumption of Moses, quite certainly the Book of Jubilees, may be used as sources of Pharisaism; yet hardly one of them has a well determined date, and the question how far they were really representative of the party, how far the product of individual reflection or fancy, is hard to answer.

These considerations will serve to explain the eagerness and satisfaction with which the historian turns to the book of eighteen Pharisaic Psalms, called the Psalms of Solomon. That they are Pharisaic is unquestioned even by Jews. Almost as certainly were they not a mere individual performance, but were written by various men in the name and spirit of the community, for use in the common services of the synagogue, so that they must have expressed the ideas and feelings of the party as a whole. The date of the book is established, not by traditional evidence, but by unmistakable historical allusions in the Psalms themselves to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem (63 B. C.), and to his death (48 B. C.)¹ The book, therefore, fulfils every requirement of a first-rate historical source, and gives sure footing in a most interesting region where there is much trying insecurity.

The Psalms of Solomon are no new discovery. They stand in many manuscripts of the Septuagint, having been regarded by some circles of Christians as belonging to the Old Testament

¹ Wellhausen gives as the dates of the Psalms, 80-40 B. C., Schürer, 63-48 B. C., Ryle and James, 70-40 B. C.

canon. They were not received into the Hebrew canon, which was indeed already closed, nor were they valued by the later rabbis, since after the destruction of Jerusalem the conflicts out of which they sprang and the hopes they voiced were things of the past. The original Hebrew was therefore lost. The Greek misses the original sense often enough both to betray the fact that it is a translation and to offer numerous difficulties to the reader. The comparative neglect of the book has been due, however, not to its difficulty, but to the failure to put it in its proper historical position, and to appreciate the importance of its historical testimony. This was first done, I believe, by Wellhausen, who gave a critical study of the Psalms, with a translation and notes, in his brilliant book on the Pharisees and Sadducees.¹ The book has been hardly accessible in English. Dr. Pick's text and translation in the *Presbyterian Review*, October, 1883, did not adequately meet the need of an English edition. A worthy treatment of the book at last, however, appeared, by Prof. Ryle, and Mr. James, of Cambridge,² a book of admirable scholarship, though somewhat overweighted with critical details. The general historical significance of the book in connection with the history of the Pharisaic party is still clearest in the pages of Wellhausen. In attempting a brief sketch or suggestion of the historical bearing and significance of the book, I wish to be understood as aiming chiefly to send the reader to the Psalms themselves, and give him some points of view from which to approach them.

The differences between the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties were formerly supposed to be doctrinal. The Pharisees accepted and cultivated the traditional law; the Sadducees acknowledged only the written Pentateuch. The Pharisees believed in divine predestination as well as in human responsibility; the Sadducees, only in freedom. The Pharisees believed in the resurrection,

¹ Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer. Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte. Pp. 164. Greifswald, 1874. Out of print.

² Psalms of the Pharisees, commonly called the Psalms of Solomon. The text newly revised from all the MSS. Edited, with Introduction, English Translation, Notes, Appendix, and Indices, by H. E. Ryle and M. R. James. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1891. Pp. xciv., 176; \$3.75.

and in angels and spirits; the Sadducees denied both.¹ It has been shown, however, especially by Wellhausen and Schürer, that these differences of opinion over which the Pharisee and Sadducee of the time of the New Testament and of Josephus disputed, were of a secondary character, and that the original contrast was not between diverging doctrinal tendencies but between a secular and political party on the one side and a religious and churchly sect on the other. More precisely, the Sadducees were the adherents and supporters of the Maccabean kingdom and the high-priesthood of the Maccabean princes; the Pharisees were those who, on religious grounds, protested against both. The Asidæans had supported Judas at first, but deserted him when they saw, as they thought, that personal or political ambition was making him unfaithful to the law.² They did not sympathize with the effort to establish an independent state, for they would know no king but God; and they were strenuously opposed to the assumption by the Maccabean rulers of the office of high priest as itself illegal and as involving a constant profanation of the most sacred office. This double protest against the worldly kingdom and the unlawful high-priesthood of the Maccabees, made of the Asidæans a party of dissent. They were "Separatists" not primarily from the common mass who knew not the law, but from the ruling national party. It was about the existence and character of the Maccabean kingdom then that the two parties divided. The Sadducees were simply the Maccabean party, who assumed or were given the name of Zadok, the traditional ancestor of the Jerusalem priesthood. Their fortunes were inseparably bound up with those of the Maccabean kingdom. During the one hundred years of its existence they were in the ascendancy; with its fall they fell, though as long as a remnant of political power remained in the hands of the priestly party it could maintain a semblance of its former significance. The two chief crises in the fall of the Sadducees were the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, 63 B.C., which ended the

¹ Josephus. *Bell. Jud.* II., 8: 14. *Ant.* XVIII., 1: 3, 4. Mk. 12: 18 and *par.* Acts 23: 8.

² See I Mac. 2: 42; 7: 1ff, esp. 12-14; from the Sadducean standpoint.

Maccabean state, and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, 70 A.D., which practically ended the political existence of Judaism. The first event left the Sadducee with only the shadow of his former dignity and significance; the second led to his speedy extinction.¹ The first gave Pharisaism the upper hand; the second left it in sole possession of the field. The first event ended the first great contention of the parties in favor of the Pharisee, but the rivalry and hatred continued, and the conflict waged about secondary matters. Our chief sources, the New Testament and Josephus, reflect the relations of the parties after this change. It is because they do not take us back of Pompey's victory that they do not enable us to understand the original and fundamental character of the conflict.

It is therefore most fortunate that the Psalms of Solomon are the product of just the decisive period in the history of the parties. They express the fundamental conviction of Pharisaism in the hope that God will overthrow the godless kingdom, and in the joy of triumph when by the hand of the Roman he has done it. This was the vindication of the Pharisees' faith and effort. It was in a considerable measure their own deed. For Roman interference was made necessary by the struggles, rising at times to the point of civil war, between the ruling political and the ruling religious parties. During the century of Maccabean rule the Pharisees, the religious, the righteous, had been the despised and persecuted. Though their growing influence among the people had forced occasional favors from the rulers, yet, on the whole, they had been oppressed and abused by their enemies, in whose hands were riches and honor and power. The Psalms of Solomon breath the very spirit of this struggle. The long hatred finds expression, the loud complaint, the exultation in the coming of judgment at last. The Roman is God's instrument for the overthrow of the sinful kingdom. "He brought him that is from the end of the earth, him who strikes mightily" (2:16). True, the Romans went beyond their divine commission. "They brought reproach upon Jerusalem by treading her

¹ Rabban Jochanan ben Sakkai, 70-80 A.D. is the last Pharisaic rabbi who disputed with Sadducees.

under foot." "They mocked, and spared her not in their wrath and anger and vengeance." "They did it not in zeal but in lust of soul" (2:20, 25, 27). So that the religious sense was not satisfied until Pompey was seen, "that insolent one, lying pierced upon the high-places of Egypt . . . his dead body corrupted upon the waves in great contempt; and there was none to bury him"; because "he considered not that he was a man. . . . He said, I will be lord of earth and sea; and perceived not that it is God who is great . . ." (2:30-35). Nevertheless Pompey's deed is a righteous judgment of God upon the Maccabean rulers. "Thou didst recompense sinners according to their works, according to their sins that were wicked exceedingly" (2:17). It is a vindication of Pharisaism—a fulfilment of the Pharisaic curse against "the profane one who sits in the sanhedrin, when his heart is far removed from the Lord;" "his hand is first upon the sinner as though he were full of zeal; yet he himself is guilty in all manner of sins." "Let God," cries the Psalmist, "destroy them that live in hypocrisy in the company of the saints." "Let dishonor be his portion, O Lord, in thy sight; let his going out be with groaning and his coming in with a curse; let his life, O Lord, be spent in pain, in poverty and want; let his sleep be in anguish and his awaking in perplexities; . . . let his old age be childless and solitary until his removal (Ps. IV.).

The protest against the Maccabean rulers who were "lifted up to the stars" in prosperity and pride, but whose "transgressions were greater than those of the heathen before them," made the party of the Pharisees. This protest was based on two principles of the religious specialists of Judaism: belief in the Messianic Hope, and a scrupulous regard for the Law. They opposed the kingdom of the Maccabees because of their faith in the coming kingdom of God. The effort by war and politics to reëstablish a human kingdom of Israel was a denial of the Messianic Hope. "God is King," that is their watchword (2:34; 17:1). The assumption by the Maccabees of the throne of David is arrogant usurpation. They opposed also the high-priesthood of the Maccabean princes because it was a violation of the Law. It

was for the sake of Alcimus, whom they thought the lawful high-priest, that the Asidæans first withdrew from the cause of Judas. The first serious break with the rulers happened, according to Josephus, on the occasion of their demanding of Jonathan that he resign the high-priesthood, and be content to be prince. It was while Alexander Jannæus was officiating as high-priest that he was insulted and attacked by the Pharisaic multitude, an event issuing in civil war. The Psalms of Solomon frequently reflect the horror inspired in the Pharisaic mind at the spectacle of the princes coming with hands profaned by intercourse with Gentiles, or by contact with the dead in war, and with hearts defiled by unjust judgments and immoral lives, to perform the most sacred offices of the temple. "The holy things of the Lord they utterly profaned" (1:8). "They defiled the holy things of the Lord, and polluted the gifts of God with iniquities" (2:3). "The holy things of God they took for spoil; and there was no heir to redeem. They went up to the altar of the Lord from all manner of impurity" (8:12, 13).

The Pharisees, then, believed in the Messianic Kingdom of God; the Sadducees believed in the existing kingdom of the Maccabees, which they could indeed describe in thoroughly Messianic language.¹ They were bound to the present, the Pharisees to the coming age. And on the other hand, the Pharisee believed in the minute observance of the law at all hazard and sacrifice; to this both personal and national advantages were wholly secondary. The Sadducee believed in using the most available means for attaining political power. Such law-observance as was necessary for the order and stability of the community he would require. About laws that stood in the way of his ambitions he was not troubled with scruples. If he was conservative as against Pharisaic novelties of practice and opinion, it was the conservatism of the worldly man, interested in maintaining the existing state of things, with which his personal fortunes are connected, and untroubled by religious hopes or fears. This original contrast explains the later disputes to which I have referred. The difference of opinion regarding free will

¹See I Macc., 14:4-15.

is simply the difference between the secular and the religious mind. The doctrine of resurrection was simply a part of the Messianic Hope, rejected as a whole by Sadducees for political reasons. Neither of these were originally philosophical or theological disputes.

Regarding theological questions in detail, I can make only two or three remarks in closing.

If we can render 9:7 thus: "O God, our works are in *thy* choice and [yet] in the power of our own souls to do righteousness and iniquity in the works of our hands,"¹ then we have an interesting parallel to the famous paradox of the Mishnah: "Everything is foreseen; and free-will is given. And the world is judged by grace; and everything is according to law"; and to Josephus's testimony: "the Pharisees ascribe all things to fate and God, and yet hold that to do right or not lies chiefly upon man, though fate helps in each action."²

Psalm XVII. contains, as is well known, the noblest description of the coming Son of David, the Christ, which post-exilic Jewish literature offers; its striking characteristic is the predominance of the ethical over the political elements in the Messiah's endowments and functions. The type is evidently conceived in contrast to that presented by the existing occupant of David's throne, the hated Maccabean prince.

The figure of the Messiah appears only in this Psalm and the one following; the doctrine of resurrection is clearly expressed only once, in Psalm III., which contains no indication of date. "They that fear the Lord shall rise unto life eternal, and their life shall be in the light of the Lord and shall never fail" (3:16). Ryle and James, who are too much inclined to assume a unity of authorship, regard this as the teaching of the book as a whole. It is, however, omitted in the elaborate Messianic pictures of Psalms XVII. and XVIII., and is even excluded by the benediction on "those who shall be born in those days, to behold the blessing of Israel" (17:50; 18:7). The only immortality which the

¹ Ryle and James hesitate between this and "Our works are in *our* choice, yea, in the power of our own soul."

² Bel. Jud. II., 8:14, cf. Ant. XIII., 5:9, XVIII., 1:3.

Psalms uniformly affirm is that of the nation, or of the community of the righteous.¹ The doctrine of resurrection was surprisingly slow in becoming an established dogma of Pharisaism.

The impression we get of Pharisaism from this book is, on the whole, favorable. The period of its early struggles and persecutions was in fact its best period. In its protest against Sadduceism it was in the right. The political ambitions of the Maccabee did in fact endanger the religious possession of Judaism, which was by far its most precious treasure. "The Pharisees have the merit of having ruined the state of the Hasmoneans and rescued Judaism."² Before the fall of the Maccabean house it was not the Pharisee but the Sadducee who was the hypocrite, who used religious profession as a mask worn for selfish and worldly ends (cf. Ps. 4:1-7).

In the Psalms of the first and second chapters of Luke we see the survival and development of the better sides of Pharisaism expressed in a form closely related to that of our Psalms. But from Christ's descriptions of Pharisaism we learn the speedy triumph of its worse over its better elements, and those fundamental and hopeless faults which unfitted it to endure the test of popularity and success.

¹ See Psalms 7:1-9; 8:33-41; 9:16-20; 10:5-9; 11:8-10; 12:7-8; 15:6-15, and so probably 13:9-10; 14:1-7; 9:9; cf. 12:8.

² Wellhausen, p. 95.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

By REV. PROFESSOR J. S. RIGGS,
Auburn Theological Seminary.

III. JERUSALEM.

Need of intelligence in the visitor in Jerusalem.—A general view of the city from the slope of Olivet.—Sites which are beyond dispute.—Problems which remain.—Probable site of the crucifixion.—The permanent landmarks.

The interest of the traveler in Palestine climaxes as he goes up to Jerusalem. Eagerly he watches for the first sight of her walls and regretfully he turns away from her streets and the hills and valleys around about her. Whoever goes intelligently need fear no despoiling of his idealizations; but rather may gain that vivid realization of the natural scenery of much of the Bible story that will always give it freshness. We say "whoever goes intelligently," and that means two things, going with some conception of the present condition of the land and city, and some acquaintance with the work that has been done in recent years, helping toward an accurate determination of localities connected with the history of both Testaments.

There is perhaps no place on the globe where tradition and superstition have worked so well together. The city and the surrounding hills are full of "sites," and credulous pilgrims with no knowledge of the changes which an eventful history has brought about, kneel at impossible shrines and listen to absurd identifications. The supreme interest of the city for a Christian is, of course, in its connection with the life of our Lord, and the purpose of this sketch is, as far as possible, to mark the outline of that which was the city to Him, and to show its difference from the Jerusalem of today. To help us we have, as the result of recent excavations and measurements, the establishment of the rock-levels all about the city and the definite settlement of some points of topography which are of great value.

To get some idea of modern Jerusalem, let us imagine ourselves upon the slope of Olivet east of the city. As we look toward the west, we have immediately in front of us the large quadrangle of the mosques of Omar and El Aksa, covering about thirty-five acres; beyond to the north of this quadrangle, and partly on the west of it, is the Mohammedan quarter; on the hill at our right, and west of the Mohammedan quarter, is the Christian section; south of this, and on the highest part of the city, the Armenian quarter, and adjoining this on the east, reaching from it to the western wall of the sacred quadrangle, the Jewish quarter.

Notable buildings appear on all sides amid indistinguishable dwellings. The mixture of minaret and tower, of church, convent, and synagogue makes evident the religious difference of the city, —which is comparatively small, and as of old, "compacted together." Her streets are narrow and irregular, and not remarkable for cleanliness. There is yet no good water-supply, and the inhabitants are generally poor. Nevertheless, interest deepens as one studies the view and seeks to replace in thought the Jerusalem of other days. Repeated devastations have changed the appearance of the city, in some important respects, as have also the line of the walls.

By consulting the map, which exhibits the rocky contours, one can see how the city is placed. It rests on two promontories of rock formed respectively by the Kedron and Tyropoeon valleys on one side and this latter and the Hinnom valley on the west. The Kedron starts on the north and sweeps around past Bezetha and Moriah and Ophel. The Tyropoeon begins near the present Damascus gate and runs southeast right through the city sending off an arm which reaches nearly to the Jaffa gate. Except in its lower portion, this valley is not distinctly marked, and it is not strange, for nearly fifty feet of debris fill it up. The present wall dates only from the time of Solyman the Magnificent, 1542; buried beneath the rubbish of centuries lie most of the ways of the old city.

But the work of the last twenty-five years under the direction of the Palestine Exploration Society has done very much toward



helping us to an accurate restoration of the Herodian city with which our Lord was familiar. The following facts are now beyond dispute: the position of Ophel, south of the present Temple inclosure; the direction and depth of the Tyropoeon Valley; the name of the south-eastern hill of the city—the upper city; the position of the pool of Siloam below the spur of Ophel; the location of the royal towers near the present tower of David, in the first wall; the south-western angle of the old “first” wall at the rock-scarf in the present Protestant cemetery on the Zion Hill; the position of the Tyropoeon bridge leading to the royal cloisters of the Temple, the position of the south-western angle of the Temple inclosure. These facts, together with the description of the rock-levels, put us in the way of, at least, more intelligent discussion of the great problems yet in question—of these the greatest are these: (*a*) the extent of the old city in the time of Christ; (*b*) the area of the Temple inclosure at the time of Herod’s enlargement; (*c*) the site of Calvary. If we could be sure of (*a*) we would also be a long way toward the determination of (*c*). That ancient Jerusalem was a far nobler city than that which now fronts Mount Olivet can be readily believed when we think of the glory of the Temple; of the palaces and public buildings that rose up from the high city, and of the walls with their numerous towers and battlements. In the fifth book of the “Wars” Josephus gives the course of the walls before the destruction of the city in A.D. 70. Let us follow them as far as possible. The first began near the present Jaffa gate and ran directly eastward along the northern edge of the hill of the upper city (see outline) and ended at the wall of the Temple. From the Jaffa gate it went southward along the brow of the hill facing the Hinnom Valley to the rock-scarf where it turned eastward, and “bending above the fountain Siloam” passed along the eastern brow of the hill near the line of the present wall where it crossed over and came back along the edge of Ophel. It is but right to say that the direction of the wall after leaving the rock-scarf on the south-western angle is disputed. Conder, with others, makes it cross the Tyropoeon just above the pool of Siloam, while Lewin

follows what seems the more likely conjecture which we have already indicated. The moment we attempt to draw the line of the second wall we must face the serious question of the place of the crucifixion. A second spot is coming more and more into dispute with the traditional site under the Holy Sepulchre Church—and that spot is the Grotto of Jeremiah, not far outside the present Damascus gate. Nearly all the data for determining the direction of the second wall are wanting. Josephus says that it began at the gate Gennath, which is conjecturally located near the tower of Hippicus, and ran to the tower of Antonia.

If for no other reason than the painful superstitions which crowd the whole interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, that were sufficient to make us wish to find some quiet spot like the hill outside the gate as the place where the wondrous sacrifice was made. Herr Schick, who contends for the present site, makes the second wall turn sharply several times on its way to Antonia. The rock-levels again seem to call for a course which would include the Sepulchre Church, for with a sloping hill a wall would be a weak defense in proportion to its distance from the summit—and the position of the church is below the summit of the Akra ridge.

As long as the actual remains of a wall in this region are not clear beyond question one cannot be dogmatic regarding the site of Calvary, but the evidences of an old gateway found near the present Damascus gate and the line of rock levels would well support the theory that the line of the second wall passed north from near the tower of David along the ridge of Akra to the present Damascus gate and then turned along the ridge of Bezetha to the northwest angle of the Temple area, *i. e.*, to Antonia. This would make the present site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre untrue. It must be remembered that a long time had passed after the crucifixion before this site was fixed upon and honored with a memorial, and as another has remarked it was as easy to be mistaken about this as about the location of the place of the ascension which has always been pointed out as on the top of Mt. Olivet. Furthermore the grotto of Jeremiah answers to

all the conditions of the Bible account; especially so, if the present Damascus gate marks the site of an ancient gateway on the much-traveled road toward the North. It was then without the walls, near the city, near a leading thoroughfare, conspicuous, and formed like a skull. As we stood upon the clear, quiet spot under the open sky and quite away from the noise and mummery of traditional remembrance, our earnest feelings were only too glad to second the judgment which makes this the most memorable place on earth—the actual scene of the crucifixion. As the three crosses stood upon this height, sixty feet above the road, they must have been visible from the housetops all about Jerusalem. Singularly enough Jewish tombs have been discovered near by, and though it cannot be identified, it may be that one of these was the tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa. If these conjectures are correct, we can see from the outline that the general circumference of Jerusalem in Christ's time was different from that of today. Now the southern part of the upper city or Zion is outside the walls, and its area is occupied in great part by a cemetery. Ophel is no longer included within the city and is but a barren rock. On the northeast the wall is curved further out and joins the Temple area in a straight line and the area of Akra was not quite as large. Only a broken arch, Robinson's arch, remains to show the place of the bridge which led across to the Temple area. Indeed, by the filling up of the Tyropoeon all the ancient approaches on the west side of the Temple area are obliterated. No wall now divides the city as did the old "first" wall. The brook Kedron was deeper, and all the surroundings of the city must have been more attractive than now. The Xystus stood in the Tyropoeon west of the Temple wall and the town of Antonia probably at the northwest angle of the great area. By different levels one ascended to the Holy Place of the Temple itself, and the inclosure was enlarged by Herod at the southwest angle. It is the opinion of Sir Charles Warren and Captain Conder that the northeast angle began near the present golden gate and followed the line of the ridge in a north-westerly direction.

Such are the changes that come to light by modern explora-

tion and measurement. They give us some idea of the general contour of the ancient city and that is about all. At least twenty times Jerusalem has been besieged and the rubbish, some of which existed, when Nehemiah rebuilt the walls, has been heaping up so that near the south-eastern angle of the present Haram wall, the great stones of the foundation were found nearly eighty feet below the surface. Still the general position of the city is the same as when Christ saw it; Olivet is watching above it as of old; Gethsemane cannot be far away from the traditional site. The deep valleys run yet on both sides of the steep hills, and Scopus is yet seen toward the north. There below Ophel is the Pool of Siloam; in the Kedron Valley is the old spring now known as the Virgin's fountain—connected by a tunnel with Siloam. Underneath all the city are the great caverns, whence rock was taken once for its buildings. One can look down into rock cisterns underneath the Temple area, and the broken aqueduct exists which brought water from the Pools of Solomon. Roman, Saracen, Crusader, and the different peoples of modern time have built memorials upon these sacred hills.

Estimated according to modern standards, Jerusalem has none of the requisites of a great city. It is glorious only in memory; for its associations, its interest will be imperishable. May the good work but go on which has already so greatly helped us to a clearer knowledge of its topography.

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO GENESIS I.-XI.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

The stories omitted.—The unique character of Genesis i.-xi.—The questions: as to the origin of the narrative; as to the value and character of the material.—Three possible methods of procedure.—Three classes of minds.—A general review of the question of the analysis, or division into documents.—Difficulties raised by an acceptance of the analysis.—Difficulties removed by an acceptance of the analysis.

The story of the dispersion of nations and the tower of Babel will be passed over in this treatment, partly because an adequate treatment would require the use of more technical material than can with profit be published in THE BIBLICAL WORLD, and partly also in order that more space may be given to the general consideration of the material as a whole. These portions are omitted all the more willingly because, as a matter of fact, nothing really new would be contributed by them for the settlement of the general questions involved. The reader is given below a list of authorities from which he may construct his own treatment if he desires to undertake the work.

Literature:

Dods, Genesis.

Kalisch, Genesis

Dillmann, Die Genesis.

Delitzsch (Franz), Genesis.

Lange, Genesis.

The Pulpit Commentary, Genesis.

Lenormant, Beginnings of History, Vol. II.

Schrader, The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.

Harper and Green, The Pentateuchal Question, Genesis i.-xii., Hebraica, Vol. V.

Ewald, History of Israel, Vol. I.

Budde, Die biblische Urgeschichte.

Geikie, Hours with the Bible, Vol. I.

Knobel, Die Völkertafel der Genesis.

Kiepert, in Phönikisch-hebräischen Urkunde (1859).

It is perhaps appropriate to analyze the portions omitted:
 (1) The priestly writer furnishes a family history of Noah's sons in 10: 1-7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32, also the family history of Shem 11: 10-26.

(2) The prophetic writer furnishes the story of the peopling of the earth from Noah's sons, 10: 8, 10-12, 13-19, 21, 24-30, and the story of the Tower of Babel and the Dispersion of Nations 11: 1-9.

The tables are evidently a continuation of the plan already indicated in the fourth chapter of the prophetic writer and the fifth chapter of the priestly writer. It is a part of the plan of both writers to preserve a chain of historical connection from the beginning down to the days of Israel. With reference to the story of the Tower of Babel it may be said: The fact was noted that diversity of language is a great inconvenience. What now is the significance of this? The teaching inculcated is (*a*) that this diversity is a punishment for sin; it is likewise (*b*) a barrier preventing men from combining for wicked purposes. The real purpose of the story was not to recount how language came to be diverse, but rather "to show the purpose served by the breaking up of man into diverse nations."

We now proceed to present a few general considerations with reference to the material of Gen. i.-xi. These are to be regarded as preparatory to a more formal discussion of the divine and human elements in these chapters which will be taken up in subsequent articles.

I. The Unique Character of Gen. i.-xi.

1. In comparison with other portions of sacred literature. One cannot find in any eleven consecutive chapters in all sacred literature, nor can one from the different books making up sacred literature, select eleven chapters which shall in any respect resemble the first eleven chapters of Genesis, the

Literature (continued):

Lagarde, in *Ges. Abhandlungen* (1866).

Fr'd Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*

Rawlinson, *The Origin of Nations*.

subject thus far of our study. • In what particulars do these chapters differ from all other chapters of Holy Writ? In what respect are they unique? (1) *In scope*. All that portion of the Bible which treats of general history is found in these chapters, for the twelfth chapter introduces the special history of a nation. Of the four thousand years, which, according to the accepted chronology, passed before the coming of the Christ, these eleven chapters cover one half, the remainder of the Old Testament being given up to the other half. In these chapters we find the beginnings of those things on which to-day the world's scientific and philosophic thinking is engaged. (2) *In the magnitude of the themes*. It is only necessary to mention some of these themes; for example, the origin of life, the origin of sin, the beginnings of civilization, the dispersion of nations, the confusion of tongues. (3) *In choice of selection*. We think sometimes that only a little of the lives of Samuel, Saul, and David are given us in the Books of Samuel, about fifty chapters. If the compiler of these books has omitted much material which might have been included, what shall we say of the compiler of the eleven chapters of Genesis who has, as a matter of fact, spoken of only eight or nine events in two thousand years? (4) *In relation to science*. It is in these chapters that the Bible is brought into contact with science. Here questions arise relating to astronomy, physics, geology, geography, biology, ethnology, and philology. The relation of the Bible to science will be settled by the decision in reference to these chapters. (5) *In being pre-Hebraic*. There is yet no Hebrew nation; there is yet no Hebrew language. (6) *In being pre-historic*. The period dealt with stands, as is acknowledged at least so far as concerns the Antediluvian part of it, before the beginning of history.

2. And again, one cannot find in any literature, sacred or profane, a piece of composition which deserves in any proper sense a place beside these chapters. For every story here narrated we have been able, to be sure, to find many and most striking parallels; but two things will be remembered: (1) Not one of the hundreds of parallel narratives which we have examined could in any fairness be said to compare favorably with the

corresponding Hebrew story; and what is of greater moment, (2) in no other literature is there so full and complete a collection. What here is orderly and systematic is elsewhere fragmentary and disconnected.

It is true that in the Hebrew narrative there are fragments of three works. But let us notice and weigh well (1) the fact that there are three in one literature, and (2) that there was an editor whom some great purpose or influence led to make these three already great, still greater by the union.

II. The question is not a simple one.

To undertake its discussion even with the preparation we have tried to make in the space at our command is almost absurd. We may, however, state the question. Strictly speaking, there are two questions, the first relating to the origin of the narratives here combined, the second relating to the value and character of the facts narrated. It is impossible, however, to separate these questions and so we may regard them as two parts of one great question.

1. *As to the origin of the narratives.* 1) Are they like the similar stories of other literatures, wholly human in their origin, or has there entered into their composition some external, superhuman, supernatural influence, an influence which has left upon them a clear and unmistakable impress? 2) Granting that there has been present such a divine influence, what has been the method of this influence? Was the knowledge of the facts imparted by a special revelation, or did the divine influence limit itself to the guidance and direction of the author as he ascertained for himself, in whatsoever manner possible, the material here collected; as he interpreted, according to principles the purpose of the events which were transpiring about him?

2. *As to the value and character of the material.* 1) Whether of human or divine origin, is the material scientific in form and contents? Is it real Physical science or Geography or History? Or is it pure invention? Or is it in large part naturalistic myth? Or is it historical legend? What is it? 2) If we grant its divine origin in any sense and decide from the study of facts that

the material is something more than literal history, or that from the scientific point of view it is imperfect, inaccurate, how may these two things be reconciled ?

III. Possible methods of procedure.

1) *The traditional.*—In reference to these chapters and their contents, men living hundreds of years back, good and honest men; the church through all its history, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant church; our fathers and our teachers, our mothers and our preachers—in other words, *tradition* has entertained and taught a certain view. This view has been held for a long time by many great men. It has been instilled into our minds in the days of infancy. It has become a part of us. Whether false or true, it is on every side of us. It is our privilege, some think it a duty, to continue to hold it. It has answered for the past; it is good enough for the present. To reject it, even to examine into it, will make trouble, will disturb the faith of many. It is better to let well enough alone. What our fathers have taught us, that let us teach our children. Shall we adopt this method of procedure ?

2) *The a priori method.*—We know what God is; a perfect being. It is not difficult to determine the character of a revelation which such a one would make. It must be perfect. It must be scientifically accurate. It matters not what may have been the state of knowledge on any subject at the time of the original utterance. Coming from God, it must have been a final statement; a statement at least in outline, which the development of human knowledge might fill out, but which, in no particular, such growth might really change. God being what he is, his revelation must have come in a certain way, and must be of a certain character. Knowing beforehand, therefore, what it ought to be, we may reasonably be allowed to find that which accords with our expectation. If there are facts which cannot easily be explained from this point of view, we must remember that this is the word of God, and that we poor, ignorant mortals have no business to suppose that we can understand everything. A great feature of the Bible is its mysterious character. It was never intended

to be thoroughly understood until the last day of all the world. Is this satisfactory?

3) *Inductive*.—Here are eleven chapters, narrating in a certain form, with a certain spirit, certain facts. Some of us have believed these chapters to have had a supernatural origin; some have thought them merely human productions. In both cases the belief has existed apart from any thorough study of the subject. What now shall we do, in order to arrive at an intelligent and truthful view of the case? Is it not clear?

(1) Examine every story here given in the strongest light we can find, comparing everything from which there is reasonable hope of securing help.

(2) Note down the facts or considerations which seem to indicate a human origin.

(3) Note down the facts or considerations which seem to indicate a divine origin.

(4) Consider how both classes of facts may be harmonized; in other words, seek a theory which shall cover all these facts.

(5) If heretofore we have seen only the human element, have doubted the existence of the divine, take a step forward, and, if the facts warrant, recognize here the hand of God.

(6) If heretofore we have seen only a divine element, and have not appreciated the human, take a step forward—it is always taking a step forward to recognize the truth—and acknowledge the human element. Let tradition have its true force. Let our conception of God also exert an influence, but let us decide this question on the basis of the facts.

IV. Three classes of minds.

It must not be forgotten in this last part of our work, that when we started upon it there were among us those who might be divided into three classes:

1) A first class, made up of individuals who maintained an unswerving faith in the accuracy, truth, and final authority of these chapters as respects both questions of history and science, and questions of a religious character.

2) A second class, made up of individuals who were conscien-

tiously skeptical in respect both to their historical and to their religious value. Here belonged not only those who did not, but as well some of those who did, believe in a special divine revelation.

3) A third class, made up of those who were wholly indifferent to the contents or the teaching of these chapters.

In any final summing up we must keep in mind all three classes.

Some of us have, all our lives, been blind, utterly blind, to the clearest evidence of a human element. We have been guilty of bibliolatry. It has never dawned upon us that God works from the inside as well as from the outside. We have thought that a voice spoken to the ear of a man was louder, more distinct than a voice spoken to his soul. We have been literalists, realists. We have degraded the very book we were attempting to lift up. What, now, ought this study to teach us? To see that God works through men; that such work must be limited, imperfect; to see that God is not so narrow, nor so small as we would make him; to learn that he has seen fit to allow his truth to appear, at least in some form to many nations and not merely to one; in short, the work, if it has been in any sense successful, ought to have broadened, somewhat, our horizon. Of course it will raise questions which at present we cannot answer; but we must not forget that the individual in whose mind all questions have been answered, all difficulties have been solved, has, by some mistake come to the wrong world. He does not belong here. He ought not to stay here.

Some of us have, all our lives, been blind, just as blind to the evidence, just as clear, of a divine element. We have been guilty of a sin, no worse than bibliolatry, but equally as baneful. It has never dawned on us that anything exists which we cannot comprehend. We have refused to see God's hand in all this, not, to be sure, because we fancied God too small, too insignificant; but because we fancied ourselves too great, too all-knowing. We have been skeptical, largely because of our self-conceit; and yet we have been as narrow, in our way, as the other class in their way. It is narrowness of vision, smallness of conception,

which has led us to pronounce as *only* human what is also divine. What should this investigation have for *us*? A broadening of the mind.

Some of us have been indifferent. Are we still so? If these strange narrations, these fundamental themes, these heaven-born teachings do not stir our souls, and make us more alert to the thought of man and the voice of God, it will require angels from heaven, or demons from hell to move us.

*V. A general review of the question of the analysis, or division into documents. What are the facts and the considerations?*¹

1. *Language*.—If we, provisionally, divide chaps. 1:1–12:5 into two portions, the division being based upon a difference of style (strongly marked), a difference of statement in the handling of practically the same material, a difference of theological conception, does this division find any support in the linguistic phenomena presented?

Let us consider the facts as obtained from an examination of the chapters (P, representing the priestly writer; J, the prophetic):

| | |
|---|----------------|
| 1) The total vocabulary of the section is..... | 485 words. |
| 2) Of the 485, those used by P alone number | 118 " |
| 3) " " " " J " | 246 " |
| 4) " " P's total usage is therefore..... | 239 " |
| 5) " " J's " " | 367 " |
| 6) " " P and J use in common..... | 121 " |
| 7) The total occurrence of words in the section is..... | 3727 " |
| 8) Of the 3727 P has | 1858 " |
| 9) " " J " | 1762 " |
| 10) " " R ² " | 107 " |
| 11) P uses 239 words in 1858 forms, each word | 7.77 times. |
| 12) J uses 367 words in 1762 forms, " | 4.8 " |
| 13) P uses 239 words in about 150 verses, for each verse... | 1.58 new words |
| 14) J uses 367 words in about 140 verses, for each verse... | 2.62 " |
| 15) Of the 118 words used by P alone, those fairly characteristic number..... | 56 |
| 16) Of the 246 words used by J alone, those fairly characteristic number..... | 104 |

¹ From *Hebraica*, Vol. V., No. 1, pp. 63 ff.

² R represents the editor who joined together the priestly and prophetic narratives.

As has before been said, the argument from language possesses the least weight. It is only when connected with the others that its real influence is exerted. It cannot be accidental that, with a change of style, matter, and theology, there is also a change of language.

The fact that P uses only 239 words in 150 verses, and uses them in 1,858 forms is in striking contrast with J's usage of 367 words in 140 verses, used only in 1,762 forms. The accidental fact that P has only 1.58 new words for each verse, while J has 2.62, accords well with P's rigid, stereotyped, verbose, and repetitious style, as over against J's free and picturesque style.

In the consideration of this point, it must be remembered that we are not dealing with a modern language, nor even with an ancient language like Latin or Greek; but with a language remarkable for its inflexibility. When it is appreciated that writings acknowledged to be a thousand years apart present few more differences than are sometimes found in the work of one man in our times, these peculiarities, insignificant as they may appear, are nevertheless very noteworthy.

2. *Style*.—If we make a rough division of 1 : 1-12 : 5 into two parts, basing it upon the occurrence, say, of twenty or twenty-five characteristic words, upon what seems to be a double treatment of the same subject, and a different conception of God, his relation to man, and man's relation to him, do we note in the division thus made any differences of style?

1) One part is found everywhere to be (*a*) systematic in the treatment of material; (*b*) chronological and statistical, not only in the character but also in the presentation of the material selected; (*c*) minute, precise, scientific; (*d*) rigid, stereotyped, condensed, in the mode of conception; but (*e*) verbose and repetitious in the form of expression; (*f*) generic, rather than individual.

2) The second part is found everywhere to be (*a*) free and flowing, without sharp distinctions or classification; (*b*) marked by the presence of stories and traditions, but lacking all numbers and dates except those of a most general character; (*c*) picturesque and poetical both in conception and expression, introduc-

ing frequently pieces of a poetic character ; (*d*) highly anthropomorphic in all representations of God ; (*e*) prophetic, predictive, didactic ; (*f*) individual, rather than generic.

Can it be a mere coincidence that those same portions which have a given vocabulary, always have the same characteristics of style ? Furthermore, is it not strange that there is so close a connection between the vocabulary of each of these writers and his style ? No one would for a moment think of combining the vocabulary of the one with the style of the other. Such a combination would at once be felt to be incongruous.

3. *Material*.—If we made a rough division of I : I-12 : 5 into two parts, basing it upon the occurrence of characteristic words, upon differences of style, and upon differences in theological conception, what do we find as to the material of these divisions ?

1) A duplication of the same material : (*a*) In one division (1) an account of creation ; (2) a genealogical table of ten generations to Noah ; (3) a statement of the world's wickedness ; (4) a great flood sent as a punishment for this wickedness ; (5) the deliverance of one family and of representatives of all kinds of beasts ; (6) covenant and promise never to inflict a similar punishment ; (7) a table of nations ; (8) another genealogical table to Abram ; (9) the family and migration of Abram.

(*b*) In the second division : (1) an account of creation, with a story of the fall and expulsion from Eden ; (2) a genealogical table of seven generations (with practically the same names as in the other division), together with the story of Cain and Abel ; (3) a statement of the world's wickedness, with the story of the sons of God and daughters of men ; (4) a great flood sent as a punishment for this wickedness ; (5) the deliverance of one family and of representatives of all kinds of beasts ; (6) sacrifice and promise not to repeat the punishment ; (7) a table of nations, with a story of Noah's drunkenness and Canaan's curse ; (8) traces of a genealogical table to Abram ; (9) the family and migration of Abram.

2) Differences, discrepancies, and contradictions of such a character as absolutely to forbid the supposition that they have come from one hand (space need not be taken to repeat these).

It is said : If there are so many discrepancies and contradictions as to make it impossible to conceive of the work as the labor of one author, how is it possible to explain it as the work of a Redactor? Will an editor be any more likely than an author to combine contradictory matter in one piece? This question may be answered by noting (1) that an editor has done just this thing in Samuel (*e. g.* the different and even contradictory stories of (1) the desire of the people for a king; (2) the appointment of Saul as king; (3) the introduction of David at court), and elsewhere; (2) that much of the roughness was covered up by the insertions of the Redactor; (3) that in those days among all nations, and especially among the Semitic nations, there was an utter lack of that precision and scientific disposition characteristic of the present.

Can it be a mere coincidence that, in one description of a given event, there should be found one vocabulary, and one style of speech, while in another description of this same event, the style and language are different? Furthermore, is it not strange that there is such a harmony, as has been found in the language, style, and material of each division. Would any one think of putting P's material into J's language and style?

But is not this, in itself, a consideration in favor of unity of authorship? Every writer changes his style and language in treating of different subjects. Yet (1) does the same author use two vocabularies, and two kinds of style in successive chapters? Does he write one paragraph in a chapter with one set of words and in one style, a second paragraph with another set of words and in another style? Does he write one verse, or half-verse, in one way, and the following verse, or half-verse, in another? Would he keep up this sort of thing verse after verse, chapter after chapter, through several volumes? (2) Does the same writer often tell a story, or furnish a list of names, or describe an event in one vocabulary and with one style, and then tell the same story, or furnish the same list of events, or describe the same event with another set of words and in another style? (3) Does the same author repeat a story, or a list, or a description, immediately after having first given it, and in the repeated

form furnish matter so different and contradictory that for thousands of years men have believed the second statement in every case to be not a second account of the same thing, but an account of a second and different thing?

4. *Theology*.—If we separate 1:1-12:5 into two divisions, on the basis of characteristic words and phrases, style, similarity, and at the same time difference of material, we find that each division is marked also by a different conception of God (accompanied by the use of a different word), of man's relations to God, of the proper modes of worship, of God's action in History. These differences may be briefly summed up:

1) In one division we find (*a*) a rigidly monotheistic spirit, no word or expression occurring which could possibly be interpreted otherwise; (*b*) a lofty, dignified conception of God as powerful and benevolent; (*c*) a magnifying and dignifying of the supernatural; (*d*) man so far beneath his Creator as to give no occasion for any divine jealousy or alarm; (*e*) a strict adherence to an idea of progressive revelation, which shows itself in the selection of a few great legal enactments set forth in a skeleton of history; (*f*) a conscientious withholding from any reference to God as the Covenant-God (Jehovah), to sacrifice, altars, clean and unclean, or ceremonial institutions of any kind.

2) In the other we find (*a*) a spirit which can scarcely be called monotheistic in the strictest sense; (*b*) a representation of God as a supernatural being, whose rights are threatened by man's presumption, who "breathes," "walks," "comes down from heaven," etc.; (*c*) a dispensing, so far as possible, with divine aid, the heroes doing what seems the natural thing to do; (*d*) man sustaining free and confidential relations with Yahweh and the heavenly beings; (*e*) an utter indifference to the historical development of religious ideas; (*f*) the existence from the beginning of a definite ceremonial system, including altars, sacrifice, distinction of clean and unclean, etc.

We thus see that, from whatever point of view the material of 1:1-12:5 is regarded, there are such differences as to demand the hypothesis of at least two writers. Each argument by itself, with the exception of that from language, would seem to be

sufficient; but when each argument strengthens, and is strengthened by all the rest, the case becomes still more clear.

But let us look at it in another way: (1) We divide these chapters into two divisions, simply on the basis of the use of the divine names, regarding as doubtful chaps. 2, 3, which have the double phrase Yahweh Elohim; (2) we go through each division and note the language; we discover many words and phrases which occur in one but not in the other; words and phrases, too, for which, in the other division, corresponding expressions are found; it seems strange that wherever Elohim is used, it is accompanied by a certain series of words, and that it is just so in the use of Yahweh; (3) we go through again, and we discover that one division has everywhere a certain style (rigid, stereotyped, etc.), and that the other has a style quite the opposite (free, flowing, poetical); (4) we examine the passages again, and this time discover that really each division takes up the same events, the same history (creation, deluge, etc.); (5) we take it up again, and, to our surprise, notice that each division, in spite of the similarity of material, has its own peculiar and widely different conception of God, etc. What must be the result of this five-fold examination? Is this the work of one man or two?

5. *The Redactor*.—Manifestly if there were two writers, and the work of both is now one piece, some one must have joined the two. In doing this he acted in accordance with the spirit of his times, as regulated by his purpose in making the combination. His spirit is far from being a critical one. He did not hesitate to use his material in any way which would best subserve his aim. He inserted and omitted; changed and arranged. He handled the sources used as freely as if he had been the author. The question of the time, etc., of this Redactor does not belong here.

VI. Difficulties raised by an acceptance of the analysis of these chapters.

The following difficulties will arise in the mind of the student; it is only proper to face them:

1) If there is an analysis, much that is said in dictionaries and books on synonyms is valueless, inasmuch as two words which have heretofore been regarded and interpreted as expressions of different thought on the part of one author, and therefore as very significant, turn out to be merely the variant expressions of the same thought on the part of two authors.

2) If there is an analysis, interpretations based upon the sudden change of style, supposing it all to be the work of one author (*e. g.*, from a dead, rigid style to a living, vigorous style, indicative of force, or characteristic of an eye-witness), must now be dropped, since this is merely an individual characteristic.

3) If there is an analysis, the sacred record can no longer be claimed to present a perfectly accurate account of these early times, for conflicting accounts stand side by side; changes have been arbitrarily introduced into the text; insertions and omissions have been made; the material cannot be called in a modern sense historical.

4) If there is an analysis, there are two very different, though perhaps not contradictory, conceptions of God, one of which seems to border closely on polytheism. How is it possible for so low (this is the proper term) an idea of God to have been incorporated in the Sacred Scriptures?

5) If there is an analysis, one is at a loss really to know whether sacrifices, altars, distinctions of clean and unclean, the name of Yahweh, etc., existed from the earliest times or not. One writer represents all these things as in existence; the other does not. Both certainly cannot be right.

6) If there is an analysis, even these chapters furnish enough to show that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch; for if Gen. 1-12 was written long after Moses' death, it is presumable that the other portions of the Hexateuch which follow and connect with these chapters belong also to a later date.

7) If there is an analysis, and Moses did not write the Pentateuch, the New Testament authorities, among others Jesus himself, who seem to say that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or at any rate to imply this, either must have been ignorant of the

facts in the case, or knowing them, must have (1) consciously taught falsely, or (2) accommodated themselves to the literary suppositions of their day. Each of these possibilities is attended with difficulties.

8) If there is an analysis, it is probable that other Old Testament books will be found to have been put together in the same way, *e. g.*, Samuel, Kings. The discourses of the prophets, *e. g.*, Isaiah, Zechariah, may, likewise, be found to have been thrown together without much regard to time or order by later editors. The same lack of accuracy, the same proleptic method of handling material will be found to characterize many of the Old Testament so-called historical and prophetic writings.

9) If all this is true, the character of the Old Testament material, whether viewed (*a*) from an archaeological, (*b*) from an historical, and especially (*c*) from a religious point of view, must be estimated somewhat differently from the method commonly in vogue. It is not historical in the ordinary sense of that term.

VII. Difficulties relieved by an acceptance of the analysis.

While in the minds of some difficulties will arise; in the minds of others who have long been troubled, certain difficulties will be relieved. It must be noted, however, that while these twelve chapters alone suggest nearly all the difficulties which the Hexateuch as a whole, raises, a study of the Hexateuch is needed to reach conclusions which will relieve all the difficulties that have been felt by students in relation to this particular division of biblical material.

1) The material having come from two or three different writers, it is easy to understand why in this chapter a certain word or phrase (*e. g.*, "created," "God," "male and female") was employed, while in the following chapter in the same connection and in expressing the same thought used in an entirely different word (*e. g.*, "made," "Jehovah," "man and his wife"). It is true, the commentators have explained all this; but as a matter of fact their explanations occasion more trouble than did the original difficulty.

2) The material having come from two or three different writers, these sudden and inexplicable changes of style, in successive chapters, in the middle of a chapter, and even in the middle of a verse, become very clear.

3) There being different writers, the small inaccuracies, which could hardly be accounted for if one writer was the author of the whole, now have an explanation. It is not worth while to deny the existence of these inaccuracies; only ignorance of what constitutes an inaccuracy, or a perverse prejudice will fail to detect them. It is only natural that in material collected from different sources, handled by various Redactors, such should have arisen.

4) There being two or more writers, it is easy to understand how there have come down to us, side by side, two accounts of creation, two genealogical tables, two stories of the deluge, two accounts of the peopling of the earth, etc., etc. While it would be inconceivable that one man should duplicate his own material in such a way, taking pains to change his vocabulary, style, theology, and even the material itself, there is no difficulty in explaining the material as written originally by different men. The harmonizing absolutely required, and as absolutely unattainable, if one writer was understood to have written all, is no longer even necessary if there are two. Besides, we have now two different accounts of the same event, in other words, double testimony; and although this testimony is not always consistent, such, under all the circumstances, could scarcely be expected. Do we expect of the early times a perfect morality? or a morality judged by the standard of our times? Then why expect a perfect historiography?

5) There being two or more writers, the different theological conceptions which are so evident in these chapters receive explanation. It is clear that the Israelites, from the beginning, did not have the New Testament theological conceptions, as most commentators have endeavored to show. Just as there was a marked imperfection in their ideas of morality, an imperfection which could only be removed by degrees, so their ideas of God, though communicated to them from Heaven itself, were imper-

fect, far short of what they afterwards attained; far different from the ideas taught in the New Testament. They could not comprehend the real truth. They were children in religious faith, and even God himself must deal with them as such and not as men. This removes the many "moral" difficulties of the Old Testament. If these people knew God as we know him, if their ideas of him were such as we to-day entertain, how could they have committed such sins as those with which they are so frequently charged? How could they so frequently have fallen into idolatry? Their shortcomings as a nation and as individuals are better appreciated when once we realize that they lived not in the splendor of the New Testament Christianity, but at the breaking dawn of Old Testament monotheism. Whatever may be said as to the relative ages of the theological conceptions of the priestly and the prophetic writers, the two, though apparently inconsistent, present God in aspects which were, are, and always will be true.

6) There being two or more writers in the Pentateuch, the method of composition being therefore compilation, we have harmony as to method between this portion of Sacred Scripture and all other portions (*e. g.*, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and even the Gospels of the New Testament). It is true that compilation is to-day regarded as the lowest order of composition. The mere compiler is not treated as an author. It would seem to injure the character of these books, if they are declared to be compilations. Still, even the most conservative scholars have long recognized the existence of various documents (in an undigested form) in these and other books. Now if this was the method employed as far down as New Testament times, it is difficult to believe that a higher method was employed so far back as the time in which the Pentateuch is asserted to have had its origin. We must apply the same principle here as elsewhere. We do not expect to find at this early period the highest standards of morality, or the highest conceptions of God. Why then should we look for the highest form of literary composition? We know that it was the child age. To find a far more perfect form of composition than existed when the nation had become

civilized and cultured is inconceivable. A great difficulty is therefore removed by this representation.

And here, in the midst of the whole matter, we leave it. In the remaining papers we shall endeavor to show (1) the human element which forms so large a part of this material, and (2) the divine element, which overwhelms and controls the human, but without hiding it from view. The reader is requested, meanwhile, to remember that in the statement made above, an effort has been made, honestly and candidly to present the difficulties on both sides of this vexed question. The arguments for the divine character will be found to be independent of the question of an analysis. The constructive side of the question is yet to follow.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE CIRCASSIAN COLONIES AT AMMÂN AND JERASH.

By DEAN A. WALKER, A. M.,
The University of Chicago.

Ammân, the Rabbah, or Rabbath-Ammon of the Bible and the Philadelphia of the Grecian period, where Uriah the Hittite was treacherously exposed to death in accordance with David's secret orders, is situated about a mile below the source of the river Jabbok, the modern Zerka, whose narrow valley at this point is filled with the ruins of the town of the Græco-Roman period. Among these ruins a colony of Circassians have lately established their homes. The word seems almost a mockery here. We think of a home as a place about which tender associations have had time to gather, till the place itself becomes as much an object of affection as the members of the family whose mutual affection makes the place a *home*. But the Circassians at Ammân have hardly had time to form such associations, and the place is to them more like a place of exile than a home.

When, by the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, Turkey, assuming an authority that did not belong to her, ceded to Russia the territory of the independent Circassians in the Caucasus, they refused to acknowledge the new authority, and waged a brave and often successful war for independence. And when at length in 1864, their resistance was broken, the entire nation to the number of 500,000, rather than submit to Russian rule, emigrated into Ottoman territory, leaving a wilderness behind them. The Ottoman government quartered them in various parts of its dominion and a portion of them were located in Bulgaria. Here they had hardly had time to get settled, when the Russo-Turkish war of 1876-8 again drove them from their homes, enrolled the men in the Turkish army and sent their families as refugees to Constantinople. At the close of the war, they could not return to Bulgaria, now under Russian control, so they were again distributed and a portion of them were sent to people the ruins of Ammân, where they must hold their ground against the Bedouin Arabs as best they could. This was about the year 1878. Three years later, a second colony arrived in Moab and were located at Jerash, one day to the north of Ammân on a small brook tributary to the Zerka.

It is not strange that a people naturally brave and independent, inheriting the hardy physique of their mountaineer ancestors and now embittered by a second expatriation, should make themselves obnoxious to the people among whom they have come. Such is the case with the Circassians here. They have taken from the Bedouin a share of their business of providing safe conduct for travelers at a price, and in any quarrels that may arise, they have that ugly European habit of shooting to kill if they shoot at all, which the Bedouin considers a very ungentlemanly mode of warfare; too abrupt, and based on the mercenary idea that a man's property is worth more than the life of the man who tries to take it away from him. The orthodox way to settle the little difficulties that arise between strangers in Bedouin etiquette is for the would-be robber and the reluctant *robbee* to compare notes as to their relative strength, taking into account both numbers and equipment of the respective parties, and then whichever party is found inferior should yield gracefully, the robber abandoning his purpose if they are evenly matched, and the *robbee* giving up his goods if the count is against him. Of course there will be times when the parties cannot agree on the count; but in any case, moral suasion should never be carried beyond a few flesh wounds. To kill entails the dreaded blood feud, which both parties are loath to originate.

But the Circassian's disregard of such considerations, in which respect he is more reckless than most of his fellow Europeans, makes him a difficult fellow to deal with. In the first place, if a count is to be taken of numbers and equipment, he insists on throwing his personal courage also, like the sword of Brennus, into the scale, which often makes the price of the booty come higher than the robber cares to pay. And in the second place, he takes matters too seriously, and his gun is liable to go off prematurely, when your Bedouin is not intending to fight, but only to intimidate as a preliminary to negotiation. The superintendent of a liquorice factory at Alexandretta, for which the root is dug in the interior along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, sends the wages of the diggers, a bag of gold, by the hands of two Circassians, knowing that no ordinary robber will attempt to take it from them and that they will defend it with their last breath.

So these Circassians at Ammân and Jerash are not on good terms with their neighbors. The colonies are small; there are but few women and children. In occasional quarrels, their numbers are diminishing. They do not themselves hope that they can long hold their ground; yet they have gone to work to make for themselves homes, and poor though they are, they are realizing out there in the wilderness among the ruins of Ammân the true idea of home.

The word *home* is Teutonic; the Arabic language can come no nearer to it than the word *house*, and a house is not a home. But as we rode into Ammân, after seeing for days nothing of human habitations but the black hair-cloth tents of the Bedouin, or the bare mud-walled hovels, we seemed to have descended upon a bit of Europe transplanted into Asia. The most

striking feature was the amount of wood-work ; first seen in the neat wooden casements of doors and windows, then in a wooden hay-rick ; next in a large wicker-work corn-crib, with sides sloping out and plastered with clay to keep the rats from climbing its sides ; and finally, we came upon a two-wheeled cart, on which a movable wicker-work top could be adjusted to convert it into a hay cart, giving a slight suggestion of the traveling van of the ancient Celts and Germans. We seemed to have come upon a European farmyard, and this, with the decidedly European features of the people and the style of dress of the women, gave the traveler a home feeling, if not a home-sick one. The dress of the men, too, though characteristically Circassian with the skirted coat and the row of cartridge pockets across the breast, was European in color and texture. Along with the cart went also the cart-path, leading up into the juniper woods near the town, where trees had been felled and cordwood stacked and chips lay scattered about on the ground, rare sights in Moab and all suggestive of an enterprise and thrift so in contrast with the slow and shiftless life of the Bedouin as to call to mind the line :

“Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay.”

Synopses of Important Articles.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY: XIV. THE FLESH AS A HINDRANCE TO HOLINESS. By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor*, March, 1894. Pp. 189-203.

The "flesh" in the Pauline Epistles is substantially the "stubborn resistance offered by a power residing in the flesh to the attainment of that entire holiness after which every sincere Christian earnestly aspires." This resistance goes on *before* regeneration, but is carried on with a better hope of success *after* conversion. The Apostle's insight into the nature and varied manifestations of the "flesh" comes from his own experience; for the expression "I buffet my body" tells that Paul had his desperate struggles with the common forms of temptation. There is no evidence that Paul theorized on the nature of the flesh in any Philonic style; on the other hand, he would have regarded such metaphysical speculation with aversion and disfavor. For (1) the theory that matter or flesh is essentially evil is decidedly *un-Hebrew*, and Paul is a Hebrew of the Hebrews; (2) the Pauline Epistles do not regard the flesh as unsanctifiable, cf. 1 Cor. 6:19, 20; 2 Cor. 7:1; (3) the eschatology of Paul is against such a notion, for the life after death is not pictured as a disembodied one, cf. Rom. 5:12; 8:21-23; 7:14.

On the other hand, Paul did not teach that the "flesh" is simply a creaturely weakness as opposed to Divine Power, without any necessary connotation of sin. The "flesh" seems to have become to the Apostle a term of intensely sinister import. The "flesh" seems to be a *tertium quid*, something intermediate between Hellenism and Hebrewism, the creation of a very intense religious experience.

Dr. Bruce's articles have the excellent effect of showing how Revelation is, partly at least, an interpretation of the religious consciousness. Very much of Paul's teaching seems to be merely holding a mirror up to nature. C. E. W.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY. XV. THE LIKENESS OF SINFUL FLESH. By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor*. April, 1894. Pp. 265-75.

The discussion of *Romans* 8:3 raises some questions having an important bearing on the Pauline doctrine of the flesh. Was Christ's flesh, in the Apostle's view, in all respects, the same as ours? Could the epithet "sinful" be literally applied to His flesh? To the Apostle, the expression, "sinful flesh" had assumed the character of a single indissoluble idea, at least with reference to ordinary men. But with reference to Christ, all that he can

say he says in this text, viz., that Christ came in the likeness of sinful flesh to the extent of being subject to every real temptation to sin and all that may involve. The text does not answer the question suggested. The question was evidently a puzzle even to Paul. Properly speaking, the flesh as such is in no case bad. It is the inversion of the right relation between flesh and spirit that is sin. If, as the Apostle says, it is possible for Christians to have a moral triumph over temptation, it was possible *a fortiori* in Christ even in a flesh in all respects like ours. Christ's holy life in the flesh shows that for men living in the flesh bondage to sin is not the natural and inevitable state. Jesus walked in the spirit while in the flesh, and to those who believe in Him God will communicate His Spirit to enable them to do the same. And the culmination of Christ's victorious life in the Spirit in a resurrection into pneumatic manhood from which all gross fleshliness has disappeared, gives us a sure ground of hope for the ultimate redemption of our body out of the natural into the spiritual, out of the corruptible into the incorruptible.

C. E. W.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY: XVI. THE LAW. By PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor* for May, 1894. Pp. 342-355.

The positive side of Paul's doctrine of justification is that righteousness comes through the imputation of faith. This does not entail a reckless criticism of the Jewish law. The law had a real, vitally significant function, and the only question requiring reconsideration was, what is the true function of the law? Paul's answer to this query is well known. It may be asked, however: (1) Is the Pauline view of the law in accordance with the function assigned it in the Hebrew Scriptures? Dr. Baur replied in the negative. But Paul's position of justification by faith is that it best interprets the Hebrew Scriptures, and that he is in close touch with the spirit of the ancient worthies. The Apostle is fighting over again with certain of the Church the battle that he had already fought with himself concerning the true value and spirit of the law. Righteousness of the law means with him, the approval of God as Pharisaically conceived, which righteousness he had strenuously pursued until his conversion. The Judge of the Pharisaic creed is the god of mere justice, the Judge of St. Paul's creed is the god of grace. It may be asked (2) are the functions which St. Paul ascribes to the law real, and are they recognized in the Old Testament? The answer is self-evident that, as time went on, the Spirit-taught men of the Old Testament saw that the law was given, not so much for life and blessedness, as for the knowledge of sin and misery, and that if any good was to come to Israel, it must be through the supersession of the Sinaitic covenant by a new covenant of grace. The prophets were on Paul's side, even if Moses and Ezra seemed to be on the side of his opponents. And (3), does the account of the law's function given

in the anti-Judaistic Epistle need supplementing? On the ethical side, the Apostle's doctrine leaves nothing to be desired; but as to the ritual law, his view is not complete. It was left for the author of the Hebrews to expound the emblematic character of the Old Testament ritual. Such a typical interpretation of the law is hinted at, however, by Paul, showing that he had no contrary view, while, at the same time, having not quite reached the same revolutionary point of view.

Such a critical appreciation of the Apostle's point of view throws a flood of light on the Epistles, as well as on the successive steps in the history of the Apostolic Church.

C. E. W.

THE MOSES OF THE CRITICS. By PROFESSOR WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for July, 1894. Pp. 389 to 397.

The question is if the critics are right, who and what was Moses? The accounts concerning him are contradictory and misleading. The books which, according to the ordinary view, present a full and definite statement concerning his life and work, are cut into pieces and made contradictory. He himself is denied all relationship to these books. The view of the critics denies the divine element in the Pentateuchal books "and dates are arbitrarily assigned to documents so remote from the events recorded as to make their testimony quite unreliable. The documents are arbitrarily represented to be variant and conflicting. One or the other of them must consequently be in error, and it is only by balancing one against the other that the real truth can be elicited from these discordant witnesses." The documents differ materially in their statements and thus give divergent representations of what took place; moreover, their aim "is not to present a simple record of facts as they actually took place, for the history has been warped, either unconsciously or designedly, in order to make it the vehicle of inculcating religious ideas."

If we take up the details of the history of Moses we find it impossible, upon the basis of the documents, to discover anything reliable. According to two documents God at first appeared to Moses in the burning bush, but another writer knows nothing of the residence of Moses in Midian, or of this vision. It is in Egypt, according to this writer, that God reveals himself to Moses. According to two writers God first revealed himself as Jehovah at this time; but according to another the name Jehovah had been used from the earliest days. According to one authority three miraculous signs were given to Moses in order to secure his influence with the people; according to another no signs were given him, but a miraculous rod was placed in his hand; according to another the rod was used only in the presence of Pharaoh and his magicians. In this conflict of testimony what is to be expected? According to Wellhausen there is lack of agreement in reference to the observance of the Passover. According to Dillmann there are four distinct accounts of the

passage of the Red Sea. According to Wellhausen, Israel never went to Sinai and no law was ever given there. Other critics who do not eliminate Mt. Sinai from Israel's history, nevertheless, reduce Moses' work of legislation to a minimum. Dillmann maintains that he wrote nothing; that his statutes were delivered orally; that he organized the worship and purified the religious ideas of the people and gave them organization, and that he left them no written book of law. According to Driver the teaching of Moses is to be found in the decalogue and in the Book of the Covenant. Most of the critics would have us believe that the tabernacle had no existence in the time to which it is assigned; that the priestly privileges were not limited to the family of Aaron until the Babylonian exile; that the law with respect to a central sanctuary was not in existence before the time of Josiah. The acceptance of these views naturally carries with it a denial of supernatural revelation. This leads to the denial of the testimony of Jesus Christ. If Moses had nothing to do with the narratives of the Pentateuch, what assurance have we of their truth? If we abandon Mosaic authorship, we are out upon the open sea with nothing to direct our course. Under such treatment the Mosaic history crumbles away. If this literary partition is accepted at all, there is no limit to it. "If the door be open even only a crack to admit it, all is at the mercy of what there is no means of controlling, and nothing can prevent the door being flung open as wide as the hinges will allow."

Professor Green is correct in asserting that the question at issue is more than one of literary form. The question is whether we shall accept (1) a purely supernatural theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, and consequently of the Old Testament religion—a theory which would make it purely objective and handed down as the Mohammedans understand the Koran to have been handed down, directly from the hand of God from heaven; or (2) the theory which goes to the other extreme, ruling out as it does the supernatural and making the religion and the history of Israel a purely naturalistic development; or (3) a conception which will on the one hand make full allowance for the supernatural element in the history and in the literature, and at the same time permit a gradual unfolding of the divine plan, and a growth from century to century of the plan and purpose of God in selecting Israel to be a teacher to the whole world. Professor Green would accept the first theory. His line of argument is directed most forcibly, and as it seems to us most convincingly against those who accept the second theory. He does not, however, seem to appreciate the position of those who adopt the third theory, and who believe as devoutly as he believes in the divine character of this material, while at the same time accepting the human element which is so evident at every step.

W. R. H.

EZEKIEL AND THE PRIESTS' CODE. By THOMAS WHITELAW, Kilmarnock, Scotland, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for July, 1894. Pp. 437-453.

It is clear that either Ezekiel preceded the Priests' code, or the Priests' code preceded Ezekiel. In favor of the view that Ezekiel preceded the

Priests' code we are referred to (1) the circumstance that in his temple vision the prophet has incorporated a scriptural torah of his own instead of simply appropriating that of Moses. If Ezekiel was acquainted with the Mosaic law, why does he not content himself with a reference to it instead of giving instructions with respect to all the details of the service? But it cannot be shown that if Ezekiel had known the Mosaic torah he would have been obliged to incorporate it. He did not use it because he did not want to use it. He may be supposed to have known what he wanted better than a nineteenth century critic. It cannot be shown that Ezekiel's aim was to outline a new ritual for the restored theocracy at the close of the exile. His real object was by means of well known symbols to set forth views of divine truth for the consolation of his fellow exiles.

(2) The deviations of Ezekiel's torah from that of the Priests' code. Ezekiel, in the matter of worship, requires much less than Num. 28 and 29. Where is the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16)? What has become of the High Priest? In this and other matters the Priests' code is a development of Ezekiel's ideas. But (a) since Ezekiel is aiming merely to furnish his fellow exiles with a picture of the ideal worship, there was no reason why he should not appropriate as much or as little of the earlier torah as would be helpful to his purpose. (b) If he intended to propose a new scriptural rubric, and if he was guided by the same spirit that directed Moses, why should he not be allowed the liberty to take or leave of it precisely as that spirit led him? (c) If Ezekiel did not have the liberty to omit from the Priests' code (supposing it to have been the earlier) reference to a high priest, the great Day of atonement, etc., the author of the Priests' code, (assuming it to have been later), should not have felt himself at liberty to add these things, especially in view of the Deuteronomic admonition (Deut. 4:12; 12:32). If the Priests' code was not composed till after the exile, the Book of Ezekiel must have been known to its author. This author did not hesitate to make additions. It is not enough to say that the Priests' code is a "development," for development may proceed in the direction of diminishing dead rites rather than in that of multiplying. (d) In view of Ezekiel's closer affinity with the Priests' code than that of Deuteronomy, and of his divergences from Deuteronomy, why not suppose that Deuteronomy had no existence in the days of Ezekiel?

(3) The so-called degradation of the Levites (Ezek. 44:6-18) which shows that the distinction between priest and Levite was unknown until Ezekiel created it, the Deuteronomic code having been doubly ignorant of Levites who were not priests. But (a) it cannot be shown that the division between priests and Levites was unknown before the exile. The proposition that all Levites were priests and recognized as such in Deuteronomy and other pre-exilic books is not warranted by the evidence. The brief text of this proposition (Deut. 18:1) does not imply this, and besides an examination of Josh. 21:4; 3:3; Judges 17; 1 Kings 8:14; Isa. 66:21, furnishes evidences that the distinction

was not unknown in other books. (c) The degradation referred to in 44:6-16 was of apostate priests and Levites who were unfaithful.

(4) The occurrence in the Priests' code of words belonging to the exilic and post-exilic era. The strength of this argument seems to rest upon the occurrence of the word "rakia" firmament, which is found, outside of the Priests' code, *Psa.* 19:150 and *Daniel* 12, exclusively in *Ezekiel*. But why could not *Ezekiel* have borrowed it from the Priests' code or the *Psalter*? In general, inferences as to the relative age of Hebrew documents drawn from certain words or phrases, are precarious.

On the other hand it may be urged in favor of the belief that the Priests' code preceded *Ezekiel's*: (1) The fact that between *Ezekiel* and the Law of holiness (*Lev.* 17:2-26), which makes a considerable part of the Priests' code, the points of contact in respect to thought and expression are both numerous and striking. (2) The fact that in the Priests' code and even in the other portions of the Pentateuch, fragments longer or shorter, occur which belong to some class of writing as the Law of Holiness, and ought accordingly like it to be ascribed to the author or compiler of *Lev.* 26. Now if all these fragments were put together we should have almost a complete *Leviticus*, and if they emanated from the same author, that author being, according to *Driver*, a contemporary of *Jeremiah*, we might infer that the Priests' code was composed before *Ezekiel*. (3) It is easier to explain the deviations of *Ezekiel's* torah from that of the Priests' code on the assumption that this was the earlier, than to account for the divergences from the Priests' code of *Ezekiel* on the supposition that the latter enjoyed the precedence. (4) *Ezekiel* is evidently acquainted with the phraseology and the institutions of the Priests' code. The fact is accepted by critics who deny the inference which is deduced from it. There is therefore not sufficient ground for holding *Ezekiel* to have preceded the Priests' code, but good cause for believing that the Priests' code preceded *Ezekiel*.

This presentation is one well worthy of study. It is beyond dispute that the position of *Ezekiel* is a key to the whole Wellhausen controversy. It is in reference to the date of the Priests' code that the schools of *Dillmann* and *Wellhausen* differ radically. For our own part it seems quite clear that the Priests' code is earlier than *Deuteronomy* or *Ezekiel*. The archaeological evidence which has lately been discovered makes this possible; the bulk of Old Testament material makes it probable. *Dr. Whitelaw's* contribution lays emphasis on points which, it would seem, the critics on the other side have not fully considered.

W. R. H.

Notes and Opinions.

The Antiquity of the Sabbath.—Three important questions connected with the history of the Sabbath are : (1) were there analogous institutions among the heathen nations, and if so what was their character? (2) What was the attitude of Christ toward the Jewish Sabbath? (3) How came Sunday to supersede the Sabbath in the Christian Church? To these, as well as to many other questions, answers are given by Professor S. D. F. Salmond, D.D., in the newly issued Bible Class Primer on *The Sabbath*.

As regards the analogous institutions among other nations than the Hebrew, and before that nation was founded, he says : "The idea of sacred days has existed in various forms in other systems of faith and among other nations. The name, the particular day, the relation to the week, the uses to which the institution has been dedicated, have differed. . . . With the Druses Thursday is the sacred day. There are tribes with whom Wednesday has occupied the same position. The Mohammedans set apart Friday as their Sabbath. The Arab tribes, long before Mohammed's time, the Phœnicians, and other ancient peoples, had their stated days of religious observance. The Slavonians are understood to have had their weekly festival. The Persians are reported to have made the eighth day, and the Peruvians the ninth day, a festal day or day of rest. The Romans had their Saturnalia, a festival of remotest antiquity held in honor of the god Saturnus, whose name remains in our Saturday ; and in the times of the Roman Republic one day in the month of December was specially devoted to the religious observances connected with that festival. The Greeks had the institution of a tenth day. The Egyptians at one time celebrated the tenth day, at a later period the seventh. The resemblance between those days and the Sabbath is only of a general kind, and in none of these instances of distant analogy do we find anything distinctly the same in character as the Sabbath of the Hebrews. But there is another case of a very different kind ; that is the *seventh-day* ordinance which, as our authorities on Assyrian and Babylonian questions inform us, has in recent times been discovered to have existed among the ancient Chaldeans. The special interest of this lies in the fact that these Chaldeans were of the same stock as the Hebrews, and are known to have had traditions of the creation, the deluge, and other things of which we read in the Hebrew Scriptures. A list of the days of one of the Babylonian months has been recovered. It specifies the god or gods to whom each particular day is dedicated, and the offerings or ceremonies which are appointed for the occasion. In this list the seventh, the fourteenth, the twenty-first, and the twenty-eighth days are described as days of rest. They are understood to be designated Sabbaths.

the name being taken to be *Sabbattu*, corresponding to the Hebrew word for the day. Certain things are forbidden to be done on these days. The ruler of the great nations is not to eat certain meats; he is not to change his clothes or put on white garments; he is not to offer sacrifice, or drive in his chariot, or issue decrees. . . . It is inferred from this that the Babylonians and Assyrians had their Sabbath, and that it was observed on the seventh day. It is inferred further by some of our acknowledged authorities that the institution must have been of very ancient date, and must have existed indeed in the days of the Accadians, an extremely ancient and remarkable people who preceded the Assyrians and Babylonians. . . . The [Babylonian] day of rest is connected with the natural division of the month into four periods of seven days. The division of time into weeks of seven days also existed among the ancient Hebrews . . . long before the age of Moses (cf. Gen. 17:12; 21:4; 29:27; also 7:4, 10; 8:10, 12). And it is the opinion of our best inquirers that the week of seven days was an ancient Chaldean institution, and that the Hebrews brought it with them when they left Ur of the Chaldees, the South Babylonian town from which Abraham, the father of the Hebrew people, migrated. . . . But the Sabbath, as it existed in Israel, had a character and a position entirely its own. It has been held by some to have been a derived institution. Even were that made out to be the case, its distinctive nature and claims would not necessarily be affected. Other things which are known to us as of sacred meaning and divine authority in Israel existed in certain forms elsewhere, and were taken over and clothed with a special sacredness and significance in the religion of Israel and in the service of the God of Revelation. Circumcision, for example, was not a practice confined to the chosen people, although with them it was made a rite with a peculiar meaning, a sign of the covenant relation between God and Israel, a token of entrance into the community of the living God."

As regards Christ's attitude toward the Sabbath "He honored it for what it was designed to be. It was his custom to attend and even to participate in the synagogue service of the Sabbath day. His observance of the Sabbath was watched throughout his public career, but no breach of the Sabbath of the Decalogue was alleged against him. But his method of keeping the Sabbath was not that of the Scribes. It was in accordance with the divine idea of the ordinance, but it was in conflict with the unauthorized additions, pedantic rules and meaningless distinctions by which a decadent Judaism had stripped it of its grace and spiritual worth. Christ asserted against it the great principles of necessity and mercy, in view of the fact that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath; it was a divine provision in the interest of man's highest good, physical and moral.

As regards the fact that Sunday observance superseded Sabbath observance in the Christian Church, Christ's resurrection upon the first day of the week (Sunday) brought in a new order and gave a new meaning to the ancient ordinance. It preserved and enlarged the purpose of the Sabbath institu-

tion, though in time it connected it with another day of the week. The Sabbath is but seldom mentioned in the Book of Acts,—is still rarer in the Epistles, and is not named in the Revelation. It was gradually being abandoned because the first day of the week, on account of Christ's resurrection on that day, was becoming a day of sacred meaning, special consecration and holy commemorative purpose (cf. Acts 2:1-4; 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2; Rev. 1:10). The New Testament thus gives us to understand that in the time of the Apostles, and in their practice if not by their prescription, the first day of the week superseded the seventh day of the week as the day of special religious observance, although Jewish Christians did not at once abandon the Sabbath, but for a time observed both days and then ultimately dropped the seventh, the Jewish one. In 363 A. D., the Council of Laodicea forbade Christians to observe the seventh day, and that finally brought it to an end.

The Second Roman Imprisonment of Paul.—This much discussed problem of the first Christian century has been given a new, thorough and unusually able treatment by Professor Friedrich Spitta, in a recent work entitled *Urchristenthum*. Somewhat to one's surprise, considering the author's previously published independent and liberal views, the treatment proves to be a vigorous defense, and a very strong one, of the historicity of the second imprisonment. The argument is to show that there was a firm establishment of the belief in the second imprisonment in the earliest Christian tradition. The question is dis severed from that of the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, but Dr. Spitta maintains that whoever wrote 2 Timothy held to the two imprisonments, a tradition not to be accounted for from the Acts or the letters of Paul. Then as to post-canonical evidence. The passage 1 Clement 5:5, must, as coming from a Roman writer, refer to a work of Paul in Spain: "Clement assumes the Spanish journey of Paul as a matter of common knowledge; and this view, generally current in his time, belonged to the traditions respecting the closing events of this Apostle's history which prevailed on the spot where his labors and life terminated." The *Muratorian Fragment* is explicit on the point of the Spanish voyage, and Dr. Spitta believes its information rests on the Roman tradition to that effect rather than upon a mere supposition that Paul's purpose expressed in Rom. 15:24 was carried out. In the *Acta Apocrypha* is also traced a clear tradition of Paul's journey to Spain: "Surveying the extant apocryphal tradition, we are justified in saying that there scarcely can be a more groundless assertion than to affirm that the Apocrypha witness against a double imprisonment of Paul at Rome. The case is precisely the opposite." The evidence from the writings of the Fathers is carefully reviewed, and shown to be very fairly in favor of the Spanish voyage and second imprisonment. The two things go together, as it is sufficiently clear from the Acts and the Epistles of Paul that he could not have gone to Spain previous to the first imprisonment. The author concurs

with Credner in the statement: "There cannot be found during the first four centuries a trace of the assumption that Paul did not travel westward beyond Rome, or that his life ended at the point where the Acts of the Apostles conclude." The tradition that Paul did not go to Spain began at Rome in the fifth century, when the recollections of Paul's activity in the west appear to have faded out, as Dr. Spitta thinks, the result of the growing tendency of the Papal See to exalt Peter and monopolise apostolic renown in his behalf. Compare the language of a decree of Innocent I.: "Cum manifestum sit in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam, Siciliam, et insulas interjacentes nullum instituisse ecclesias, nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut ejus successores constituerint sacerdotes." The original historical fact was thus contradicted for a purpose, and it is a distinct gain that we can get back to the original tradition, so strongly substantiating the Spanish journey and the second imprisonment of Paul. In the interval between the two imprisonments Dr. Spitta places Paul's visitation to Greece and Asia Minor, as planned for in the Philippian and Philemon Epistles, his mission to Spain by way of Rome, and his return again to the districts referred to in 2 Timothy. The writer does not discuss the further question whether the Pastoral Epistles constitute the Pauline literature of this period, but that is an easy step to take. The establishment of a second imprisonment, with some years of activity intervening, goes a long way toward establishing the Pauline authorship of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus. An interesting theory of Dr. Spitta's concerning the Epistle to the Romans is stated in this connection. He thinks that it may have been originally two distinct letters, afterwards joined into one, "*ein grosses corpus doctrine*." The second included 1:7-12; 12:1-15:7; 16:1-20, and was written after the first imprisonment when Paul had been previously at Rome and was well acquainted with the church there, and when he was on the point of revisiting the city on his journey to Spain from the east. Such an explanation of the Roman Epistle is attractive, as it would solve the difficulties comprised in the sixteenth chapter, and is not at all improbable in itself.

The Wickedness of Nazareth.—The current idea that the town of Nazareth was notoriously and exceptionally wicked is even yet reiterated by some New Testament writers, despite the fact that a much more probable and better view has been shown of the passage on which this depravity notion rests. Attention is again called to this better view by Rev. W. B. Hill in the *Sunday School Times* for August 4th. The wickedness of Nazareth is inferred from Nathanael's response to Philip in John 1:46, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" words which, without any reference to the time and circumstances of utterance, seem to give that idea plainly. But it is just the time and the circumstances of the utterance which show what the words did mean, and it is not the superficial idea that is commonly associated with them. Jesus had just presented himself publicly as the Messiah. Philip tells

Nathanael that they have found him who fulfills all the Messianic prophecies of their past history, the Messiah indeed, in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. But Nathanael was aware, as every pious Jew was aware, that the Messiah was to come from Bethlehem (Matt. 2:5; Mic. 5:2), not from Nazareth or any other Galilean town (John 7:41, 52). Hence his uttered surprise that they should connect the idea of the Messiah with a man from Nazareth. This is the natural and primary meaning of the expression. It is unnecessary and wrong to find in them a moral condemnation of Nazareth, unless there is good ground elsewhere for such an opinion of the town. But no such evidence exists. To be sure, they treated him badly when he asserted his Messiahship there (Mark 6:2-6; Luke 4:16-32), but he, in the same connection (Mark 6:4; Luke 4:24), gave the reason for it: "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house." Nazareth was no worse in this respect than any other town would have been if similarly circumstanced. If Christ's own brethren did not accept his Messianic claims (John 7:5), surely the other Nazarenes were not by reason of their unbelief proved to be "sinners above all the Galileans." There is really no evidence except the shallow misinterpretation of John 1:46 that Nazareth was a wicked town, and the injustice which has been so freely done the place and the inhabitants of that time may well be remitted.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

Bible Study Course for Organizations for Christian Work. The four years' course of study which was inaugurated last October, and is now about to enter upon its second year, promises to reach a very large membership. Already *three* Australian colonies have officially adopted the course. These will represent a membership of several, perhaps many thousands, which added to our own American thousands, will make an army. The subject for the coming year is one of peculiar interest in that it will give careful study to a line of thought yet entirely undeveloped so far as any popular work is concerned, and which is at the same time the heart of the Old Testament viz.: the foreshadowings of the Christ. The work will deal with not only the distinctly Messianic prophecies but very briefly with the entire history of the Jewish people during its divine guidance through the centuries in which the Messianic ideal was developed. An extract from the outline and direction sheet for the first month will perhaps give a clearer idea of the course. The chapter for the month covers the foreshadowings from the Ante-Mosaic age.

§ 1. Man's creation and his divine destiny. Gen. 1 : 26-30.

First day.—Read Genesis 1 : 1-30 and note that last of all man is created, everything else being preparatory. Re-read Gen. 1 : 26-30 and consider the endowment given man by God at the time of his creation (cf. the words "in our image after our likeness"), and the purpose for which he was created, namely, *to rule over the world*. Consider the importance of this first indication of the divine purpose as to the destiny of man.

§ 2. Man's condition of loneliness; the creation of the woman; the state of innocence. Gen. 2 : 18-25.

Second day.—Remembering that the *man* created in Gen. 1 included both man and woman, read in Genesis 2 : 18-25 the more specific statement concerning man's loneliness, before the coming of woman, the creation of woman to supply the need, and the state of innocence in which at first they lived together. Read the description of the Garden of Eden which was the place of their first abode, found in Gen. 2 : 1-17.

Third day.—Cf. the order of thought in the first two chapters and note (1) that in the first everything mentioned prepares the way for the last, the greatest act of creation, man, who occupies this, the most important position; (2) that in the second, man also is the subject of the story, and that every thing logically takes its place in relation to him; (3) that while the order in one case is chronological, in the other it is logical, but that in both everything bears upon man.

§ 3. The act of disobedience.

Fourth day.—Read Gen. 3:1-13 and consider the nature of the act performed by the man and the woman,—a simple act of disobedience. Note the ideal form in which the greatest event of all history is described. Consider the consequences of this act as the initial act of sin, and note the connection between the fall of man from his former state of innocence and the work for man of Jesus Christ.

§ 4. The punishment of the serpent. The conflict between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent; between mankind and the powers of evil, in which man ultimately will gain the victory. Gen. 3:14, 15.

Fifth day.—Read carefully Gen. 3:14, 15 and, understanding that the serpent here represents symbolically the powers of evil, consider the nature of the future conflict which is here foretold between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent. Note further that in this conflict mankind though injured will ultimately be victorious. Consider whether this victory has yet been gained, or whether every upward step taken by mankind since the fall, has not been a step in this direction. Consider also the part which was to be played by Jesus Christ in behalf of man in his conflict with evil, etc., etc.

The Reading Guild. Names are coming in rapidly for membership in the *Bible Student's Reading Guild*. Already the work has demonstrated its necessity as is shown by the variety of persons to whom it has appealed. The following occupations are representative in its membership: Minister, teacher, student, lawyer, librarian, clerk, chemist, music teacher, painter, editor, stenographer, and in addition many from that unoccupied and yet most occupied class represented by the housewife and mother. Strange to say the majority of the members thus far are people not connected with Sunday school work, showing that the work is taken up for personal improvement and not for the sake of a Sunday school class. The first year's reading commences October first.

Work and Workers.

THE Convent of Sinai still contains manuscripts of no small value. DR. FREDERICK GROTE, a German scholar, recently secured from there a number of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts, the most important of which he believes to be an old Aramaic version of the Gospels. It is written in letters somewhat similar to the Hebrew, and the old Syriac Estrangelo, and belongs to a type of Aramaic current in Syria in the first century. This document will be published. He also found an Arabic version of the Gospels, and another of the Epistles.

A VERY conservative work upon the history and theology of the New Testament, entitled *Geschichte der neutestamentlichen Offenbarung*, was recently published at Munich, the author of which is Prof. C. F. NÖSGEN, D.D., of the University of Rostock. Dr. Nösgen is at the extreme of conservatism in New Testament scholarship in Germany; indeed, it is said that he is the only theological professor in a German university who still maintains the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. Yet his work is an important one, and has a large apologetic value. It is directed against the New Testament criticism of the Harnack school.

THE Regents and Faculty of the UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA have, after much waiting, secured the funds necessary to establish a department of Semitic Languages and Literature at that institution. They feel it to be, as it certainly is, an occasion for congratulation on the part of all friends of the University. Rev. Dr. Jacob Voorsanger has accepted the appointment of Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literature. The courses of study announced, intended both for graduate students of Semitic Philology and for theological students, are as follows: (1) Elementary Hebrew, (2) Advanced Hebrew, (3) Aramaic, (4) Prophetic Hebrew, (5) Biblical Aramaic, (6) Elementary Arabic, (7) Advanced Arabic, (8) Hebrew of the Hagiographa, (9) Syriac and Biblical Aramaic, (10) Assyrian, (11) Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. Course Nos. (1) and (2) were offered at the opening of the present academic year, while the others will be added as fast as the development of the department permits. It is expected that many students will be attracted to this work from the Theological Seminary of the Christian denomination about to be established at Berkeley, and also from other seminaries around the bay of San Francisco.

AN admirable and in every way useful edition of the Tell-el-Amarna Tablets has been prepared by Dr. CHARLES BEZOLD, and published by Luzac

& Co., London. These famous tablets, found only a few years ago in Upper Egypt, contain a collection of letters in Assyrian cuneiform which passed between Pharaohs Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., of Egypt, and their vassals in Palestine and Syria as early as the fifteenth century before Christ, in the pre-Mosaic era. Their testimony as to the condition of those countries at that time is of the utmost interest and value to us. Bezold's work is issued in two volumes. The first, entitled *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, contains the eighty-two tablets in autotype fac-simile, and forty-four of the number are reproduced photographically. They are accompanied by an Introduction, written by Dr. Budge, of the British Museum, giving a sketch of the history of Egypt and Syria at that period, a description of the tablets, and several glossaries of Canaanitic words. The second volume, entitled *Oriental Diplomacy*, contains a transliterated text of the tablets, with full vocabulary and grammatical notes. The books are, of course, text-books primarily, but biblical scholars generally are interested in them and will study them.

THE *New York Independent* makes the following statement concerning the edition of the Revised Version projected by the late Dr. Philip Schaff, which was referred to in a recent number of the BIBLICAL WORLD: ". . . The late Dr. Schaff, some time before his death devised a plan of issuing an American edition of the Revised Version of the English Bible, with the Appendix incorporated in the text, with unmistakable Scripture references, with chapter headings in the words of Scripture, and with a mark to denote the beginning of verses. He also had arranged with a publisher to send forth the book in 1899 when the engagement of the American Committee with the English would expire. But the plan fell through because the American Committee, or rather some members of it, were unwilling to allow a copyright to be taken out for the work; and without such provision no publisher would encounter the expense. As the matter now stands, the work can be done if any one will bear the cost. It would require the unremitting labor of at least a year to prepare such a book as Dr. Schaff proposed; and we understand that one member of each company stands ready to do the work if the requisite means be secured. It is reasonable to suppose that members of the committee would be more likely to reach a satisfactory result than others." Cannot the work be at once arranged for? To say nothing of the practical religious value, it is beyond doubt that the publication would be exceedingly profitable to any man or company who undertook it.

IN the issue of August 11th the *Sunday School Times*, reviewing Notovitch's *Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* (see BIBLICAL WORLD for August), gives opinion as follows: "It is impossible to consider this a genuine find. It is full of clever touches which seem to be due to the brain of some one well versed in the ideas and phraseology of Eastern religions, and familiar with a certain type of writings in biblical criticism. It bears no comparison, how-

ever, with the canonical Gospels, and scarcely with the apocryphal ones. In the narrative of the journey a Buddhist monk of today is made to chat with M. Notovitch about the Egyptians, the Israelites, and even the Assyrians! The latter half of the chronicle is taken up with events concerning which the Buddhists of India could have had no intelligent knowledge."

A very important statement concerning the trustworthiness of this book is made by Rev. F. B. Shawe, a Moravian Missionary of Leh, the chief town of Ladakh, the very place where M. Notovitch claims to have found his document. Mr. Shawe says (1) that Buddhists do not venerate Jesus, or Issa (the Mohammedan name for Jesus) at all; (2) that his colleagues have had easy access to the very monastery named by Notovitch for forty years, and never so much as heard of such a "Life"; (3) that no one in that vicinity can be found who has seen or heard of Notovitch; (4) that the monks deny that they have any old books—least of all one 1,694 years old, or a copy of it; and (5) that Pali is an unknown language to any native of Ladakh. What then is left of Notovitch's *Unknown Life of Christ*? A pure fabrication, a deliberate falsehood, told for the unworthy motives of gain, notoriety, and destruction of Christian history. Such a piece of work is not to be dismissed by simply saying that "there is scarcely need for serious discussion of it," as does the *Sunday School Times* reviewer, nor by simply refusing to say anything about it, the method pursued by the biblical journals of England, but it calls for definite exposure and explicit condemnation. The public should be made aware of Notovitch's purposes and practices, and should further be put upon their guard against the class of literature to which this work belongs—literature which aims to destroy Christianity, and in accomplishing it has little or no regard for historical facts.

Book Reviews.

The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments. By the REV. A. H. SAYCE, Queens's College, Oxford. Second edition. Pp. 575. London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York : E. and J. B. Young & Co.; 1894.

THIS book has awakened much interest on every side. The book was evidently written for a purpose. This purpose was to show from the results of archæological investigation (1) that the materials which make up Old Testament books may be as old as they are represented to be in the Old Testament. In other words, that the materials may have come from the earliest times. (2) That, this being possible, we may go a step further and assume on the basis of the evidence furnished by the monuments, that the materials are in large measure contemporaneous with the events which they describe; and that (3) consequently these materials are at least in large measure trustworthy and to be accepted as a basis for historical work.

Students of the Old Testament may be divided into three classes. The first class includes those who, like Professors Green, Osgood, and others, maintain the antiquity of the materials, and who ascribe the same antiquity to the present literary form in which the materials are found. The second class includes Professors Wellhausen, Kuenen, Cheyne, and others, who advocate a comparatively late date both for materials and literary form. The third class includes a rapidly increasing number of scholars in America and in England who have assigned the materials to the earliest periods and have at the same time conceded that the present literary form may have been comparatively late.

Professor Sayce does his own work and the work of this third class of critics great injustice by using the term "higher critic" exclusively of those who belong to the second class. His own position is clearly with the third class. He accepts the literary analysis of the Pentateuch,¹ and shows, indeed, that this analysis is in accordance with the knowledge of other ancient books, for example, the Book of the Dead, the Chaldean Epic, celebrating the hero Gilgames.² The two accounts of creation are derived from a Babylonian origin. The biblical account of the fall gives evidence also of its derivation from Babylonia,³ as is shown in matters of geography as well as in the details of the narrative. The tenth chapter of Genesis contains no "scientific division" of mankind into their several races.⁴ There is no

¹ P. 31.

² P. 33.

³ P. 104.

⁴ P. 120.

division according to color, although such a division is found among the Egyptians of the Eighteenth dynasty. The negroes, though well-known to the Egyptians, are not included. Only tribes and nations of the white race are enumerated. Concerning the Books of Chronicles, he says,¹ "we can grant the compiler a much higher degree of historical trustworthiness than critics of late years have been disposed to allow," but at the same time oriental archæology makes it clear that his statements are not always exact. We cannot follow him with the same confidence as that with which we follow the author of the Book of Chronicles. His use of the documents which lay before him was uncritical. The inferences he drew from his materials were not always sound and he makes them subserve the theory on which his work is based. He tells us deliberately² that Pul and Tiglathpileser were distinct one from the other,³ when we know that they were the same. His exaggeration of numbers which appears throughout shows "that he did not possess that sense of historical exactitude which we now demand from the historian." We must remember that it (the picture of Jewish history represented by the chronicler) has been colored by the religious theory of the writer. "The Story of Esther"⁴ is an example of Jewish haggadah which has been founded upon one of those semi-historical tales of which the Persian chronicles seem to have been full. The statements of the Book of Daniel are at variance with the facts in many particulars.⁵ "The biblical text implies that Babylon was taken by storm, at all events, it expressly states that the king of the Chaldeans was slain. Nabonidus, the Babylonian king, however, was not slain, and Cyrus entered Babylon in peace. Belshazzar was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar, but son of the usurper Nabonidus. Darius the Mede⁶ is a reflection into the past of Darius the son of Hystapes, just as the siege and capture of Babylon by Cyrus is a reflection into the past of its siege and capture by the same prince." The use of the term "kasdim" in the Book of Daniel indicates that the book belongs to a period later "than that of Alexander the Great, when the influence of Greek ideas and habits of thought was so strong in Palestine as to cause a Hebrew writer to forget the true significance of a name of frequent occurrence in his own literature and to use it in precisely the same erroneous sense as that in which it was used by the Greek of his own day."⁷

The above statements are given to show the actual position of Professor Sayce. This position is overlooked by those students who enroll themselves in the first class above mentioned, and at the same time quote Professor Sayce so frequently and so strongly against "higher criticism." It is safe to say that from Professor Sayce's own book one may show conclusively that every important position accepted by the higher critics is accepted by himself.

His view, and it is a magnificent one, is against those historians who deny the possibility of the acceptance of literary documents as early, for example,

¹ P. 462.³ P. 462.⁵ P. 526.⁷ P. 535.² 1 Chron. 5:26.⁴ P. 475.⁶ P. 528.

as 1500 B. C.; but give too prominent a position to the oral tradition and who consequently deny the historical value of the references and allusions in the earlier historical books. Professor Sayce's argument is conclusive against this class of historians. The only question is whether in accepting his argument the extremely conservative scholar does not accept something which will in the end prove more than could have been desired. The substance of the argument is this: (1) In almost every important particular there existed before the alleged date of such material in the Old Testament, literary documents in other nations which anticipated more or less closely the statements found in the Old Testament. This was true of the stories of creation, the story of the fall, the story of the deluge (which belongs at the latest to B. C. 2350), the table of nations, the invasion of Chedorlaomer, etc. (2) The existence of such literary documents among other nations, not only proves the possibility of the existence of the same material among the Hebrews, but shows the source from which the Hebrews obtained the material. (3) Inasmuch, then, as the Hebrew writers are using original documents we must treat their statements as credible and trustworthy.

This position, we think, must be accepted. It bears directly against the theory of Wellhausen which assigns Israelitish literature to a comparatively late period. The position at the same time introduces difficulties of another character which must receive treatment. The results of the final examination of the archæological material which has assumed so important a rôle in these last ten years, will be to compel us (1) to recognize that the Hebrew materials have a common origin with the materials of other ancient nations; (2) that the resemblances although many are not as important as the differences; (3) that in these differences we are to find that which is unique and peculiar to Israel. These differences in form, purpose, and spirit, constitute the divine element. Concerning the details of archæological research presented by the author there is no space to speak. Great emphasis is placed upon the Tel-el-Amarna tablets. It is not too much to say that these tablets have furnished one of the most important contributions to modern biblical research. Professor Sayce's acceptance of the Glaser position, and his attitude toward the Sumero-Accadian question are especially interesting to the technical student. A careful examination of the book will lead the candid reader to two conclusions: (1) The suspicion which a certain class of destructive critics have cast upon the general historical value of the Old Testament documents is absurd. The men who compiled these books were dealing with matters concerning which in general they had clear and definite information. (2) The difficulties which the new archæological investigations introduce are as many in number as those which they solve. The field is a complicated one. Dogmatism on every side is to be avoided. Continued research must be undertaken. Many additional modifications of our present position will have to be accepted.

W. R. H.

Plain Introductions to the Books of the Bible. Vol. II., New Testament Introductions. Edited by C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D. London: Cassell & Co.

This book doubtless fills a long-felt want. It gives in an interesting way what Bible readers so anxiously long for. The book is simple in style, but nevertheless is crowded with facts. The introductions are by such men as Plumptre, Sanday, Barry, Spence, and fairly introduce one to the writers and writings of the New Testament. The type is quite small and the pages much crowded; but, probably, considering the nature of the book, this is hardly a disadvantage. Besides giving special introductions, it gives a general introduction, discussing the canon, text of the New Testament, History of the translations, etc. It is to be recommended to every thoughtful reader of the Bible.

C. E. W.

The Old Testament and Its Contents. By Professor JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., University of Glasgow. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1893. 4 × 6 inches. Paper, pages 162.

This is one of the *Guild and Bible Class Text-Books* edited by Professor Charteris, of the University of Edinburgh. It is one of the results of the effort of modern scholarship to popularize the best biblical knowledge of these times. The writer has in view the instruction of the ordinary Bible reader who is seeking for an epitomized statement of the facts regarding the Old Testament. The book is divided into two parts: (1) the Old Testament as a whole including mainly a discussion of the canon, (2) the books composing the Old Testament. In the first part, the author gives a readable, concise statement of the principal theories on the evidences of a completed canon, its gradual formation, and its transmission. The reader will scarcely be anchored by these paragraphs, but will be convinced of the scantiness of data on the question. Less theorizing and a few additional facts and quotations would better satisfy the average reader. The second part is made up mainly, after some introductory matter, of the analyses of the Old Testament books according to their order in the Hebrew Bible. We find, however, one chapter on the "composition of the Pentateuch." This sets before the reader the moderate critical results of the analysts in a clear yet of necessity incomplete form. The attempt to present so much in so small a compass embarrasses the writer and distresses the reader. But the users of such compends and epitomes must become lovers of statistics.

PRICE.

The Second Book of Kings. By the Ven. Archdeacon F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1894. Cloth, 8vo; pages xvi and 496. Price, \$1.50.

Last year Dr. Farrar gave us in this *Expositor's Bible Series* the volume on First Kings. This volume completes the history of Israel and Judah

through the fall of Jerusalem. The whole is divided into thirty-nine chapters, an epilogue, and four appendices. Almost every chapter is introduced, or keyed by one or more quotations from the Old or New Testament, some church father, Josephus, Milton, or some other literary character. Each chapter discusses a portion of the narrative, *e. g.*, chapter xxi. is occupied with 2 Kings 17: 1-41. Of this section we have an elegant rhetorical discussion, brimful of references and hints to illustrative and similar occurrences in all history. These discussions are also interpolated with pat bits of poetry from the wealth of English literature. The foot-notes are copious and valuable, as citing points in the realms of biblical, ecclesiastical and profane history and literature. Among these are found many important critical quotations from the Septuagint, and other critical sources—valuable only for the scholar. Occasionally a paragraph or a page or more of hortatory matter follows some peculiarly applicable principle of action.

The epilogue is in part an apology for the favorable attitude toward some of the results of higher criticism. The appendices are (1) kings of Assyria and some of their inscriptions, (2) the inscription on the tunnel of Siloam, (3) was there a golden calf at Dan? (in *Expositor*, October, 1893), (4) dates of kings of Israel and Judah, as given by Kittel and other modern critics.

The author has followed up with care the best results of work on Second Kings and has given us a valuable compilation, set in his own fascinating literary style.

PRICE.

Das Buch Daniel uebersetzt und erklart. VON GEORG BEHRMANN.

The worth of this fresh contribution to Nowack's series of commentaries on the Old Testament must not be measured by its size. Although so thin as to be a pamphlet rather than a volume, the book supplies the working student with all, or almost all, he needs in order to be familiar with the present attitude of judicious criticism to the Daniel question. The comprehensive introduction is a fine piece of scholarly work. It consists of two parts, the former dealing with the character and origin of the book, the latter with the history of its text and fortunes. As regards the date of the book in its present form, Pastor Behrmann agrees with the majority of modern expositors in placing it in the Maccabean period. It was written, he thinks (his view on this point coinciding with Kamphausen's) in the beginning of 164 B. C. This date rests on the double assumption that the cleansing of the sanctuary referred to in 8:14 was the re-consecration of the temple about the end of 165 B. C., and that the passage was written soon afterwards. The author was one of the Chasidim, from whom the Pharisees are supposed to have been descended. Behrmann is inclined to think with Hitzig that the Essenes had the same origin and that the Book of Daniel represents the tendency which later produced this most exclusive of Jewish sects. If so, it was addressed in the first instance to "retiring circles of Judaism," that is to a select few, not to the general public, for the purpose of encouraging passive resistance to oppres-

sion. This theory which partly reproduces a suggestion of Eichhorn indorsed by König seems hardly to fit in with the subsequent history of the book. We know that it was translated into Greek before the commencement of the Christian era, according to our author as early as 100 B. C. It seems to have been used by the writer of the First Book of Maccabees who flourished not long afterwards and wrote for the nation rather than for a class or sect. In the time of Christ and the Apostles it was held in very high repute by the Jews generally, as we gather from the one reference in the Gospels and from the enthusiastic testimony of Josephus. Is it not difficult to reconcile these facts with the esoteric origin of the book about the middle of the second century B. C. ? The unity of the book is advocated against Eichhorn and others. The problem of its bilingual character is bravely attacked but with indifferent success. The proposed solution is as follows : The author of the Book of Daniel was more familiar with Aramaic than Hebrew, as appears from the greater linguistic defectiveness of the Hebrew portions, and therefore, when he had once found it convenient to use Aramaic for a special reason, he went on using it, although that reason no longer applied. In that case why did he pause at the end of the seventh chapter ? The key to the mystery seems not yet to have been found. The historical value of the book is more temperately discussed than by some recent critics. Behrmann finds everywhere a basis of tradition. The writer of the Book of Daniel cannot be fairly charged either with invention or adaptation. His Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar are not travesties or doubles of Antiochus Epiphanes. There are mistakes indeed, because the traditions followed were erroneous or confused on some points, but there is no conscious perversion of history. The legendary element is admitted, but it is argued that it must be put down to tradition, not to the writer. We have an instance of error in the statement about "Darius the Mede," who seems to have been compounded of Gobryas, the general of Cyrus and governor of part of Media, with Darius Hystaspis. On the other hand, several of the charges of inaccuracy which have been brought against the book, cannot, in Behrmann's opinion, be sustained. It is not proved, for example, that the writer was acquainted with only two kings of Babylon and four kings of Persia. Belshazzar may have been another name of Evil Merodach, the second of the Babylonian kings. In any case that king is meant ; and therefore the mention of his death cannot have anything to do with the end of the Babylonian Empire. There is consequently no such contradiction between the biblical text and the cuniform record as some have affirmed. Even the date in the first verse, ("in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim"), which Driver pronounces "highly improbable," and Kamphausen considers to be an indication of the historical unreliability of the book, is strenuously defended. It is argued that the words of Daniel do not imply the capture and plundering of Jerusalem but only the surrender of part of the temple plate, etc., by the frightened king, whereas the words of Jeremiah (in chapter 25), which have been supposed to contradict this statement, refer to

complete destruction. It is also maintained that an attack of Nebuchadnezzar on Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim is not improbable, as the defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish which took place early in that year, left Judea unprotected. The objection that Nebuchadnezzar was not king at that time is disposed of by the supposition (which König also allows to be possible) that the term "king" is used here proleptically.

Whatever may be thought about some of the details in this part of the introduction there can be no doubt that it is a timely and able protest against the vehemence almost amounting to bitterness with which the historical chapters have been assailed. This part of our notice may fitly close with a sentence from the last page of the introduction. "There is a fairly general consensus of opinion that the book as we have it proceeds from the Maccabean age, but the acknowledgment is also gaining ground that the substance of the book is the product of another age."

Much attention is given to philology both in the introduction and the commentary. As regards the foreign words in the Aramaic text Behrmann agrees in the main with Kautzsch. Two instances of divergent opinion may be mentioned. The word *Sûmpônyâ* (3:15) and *Sîpônû* (5:10) is connected not with the Greek *sûmphonia*, but with *sîphonia*, and is supposed to describe an instrument consisting of small reeds. Another word in the same context, *sabbekâ* is regarded as the source of the Greek word *sambuke*, not as a derivative from it. It is suggested that it may be connected with *sabka*, which means wicker-work. The commentary as a whole is learned and suggestive and up to date. Even the *Sendschirli* inscriptions which have only been for a very short time available to scholars have been utilized. Some of the notes on phrases, ideas, and manners and customs are excellent, abounding in information of great service to the student. The exposition of the latter-half of the book runs on the lines generally followed by modern expositors. The fourth beast is, "without doubt," the Empire of Alexander. The "Son of Man," however, is explained to be the Messiah. Space forbids further illustrations of this very careful and instructive book, which well deserves to be placed in every student's library. It is not final. The problem of the Book of Daniel is not yet solved, but the labors of Pastor Behrmann will probably help to accelerate the solution.

W. T. S.

Geschichte der Edomiter. Von DR. FRANZ BUHL.

A good critical summary of the comparatively few facts recorded concerning the Edomites and their country to be found in the sources of information at present available. The extent of Edom and the sites of its chief cities are minutely discussed with some rather surprising results, one of which is that Petra, (in Dr. Buhl's judgment) is nowhere alluded to in any way in the Old Testament. The scanty data in reference to social life and religion are reviewed, and the history of the people is traced down to the destruction of

Jerusalem by the Romans. An interesting feature is the careful examination of the allusions to Edom in the prophetic writings. The burden of Dumah (Isaiah 21:11-12) is translated and explained in a rather novel manner, use being made of the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions; and the supposed reference of Deutero-Isaiah to Bozrah in the sixty-third chapter is called in question on the ground of the uncertainty of the text. Dr. Buhl inclines to the emendation advocated by Lagarde and Duhm *Me'adham* instead of *Mē'edhôm*, which widens out the prophecy into a general prediction of judgment.

W. T. S.

The Sabbath. Series of Bible Class Primers, edited by Prof. S. D. F. Salmond, D.D. By the EDITOR. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. Pp. 110. Price, 25 cents.

This is another volume to add renown to the Series, which already is well known and much used. Much new light is thrown upon the matter of the Sabbath, generically considered, by the incoming knowledge about the customs of Israel's neighbors and predecessors. And perhaps there is also need of a restatement of the relation of the Christian Sunday to the Jewish Sabbath, while a resumé of the Sabbath teaching and observance in both Testaments is an excellent thing. These are the three matters presented and briefly discussed in this primer. Extracts giving the substance of the material, and the author's view of it, will be found elsewhere in this number.

Professor Salmond has given the evidence concerning a pre-Mosaic Sabbath among non-Hebrew nations quite impartially, but when he comes to speak of their relation to the Jewish institution he denies it its true influence and importance, apparently for fear he will detract from the prevailing view that the Sabbath was a unique and divinely-given institution of the chosen people. He says that if the analogy were established between the Hebrew and the non-Hebrew sacred days, it would not rob the Hebrew institution of its divine origin and significance, and certainly it would not, but he affirms that the analogy is not established, and he feels much more comfortable that it is not. But is Professor Salmond surely right that some of the non-Hebrew nations, before and after Moses' time, did not have essentially a Sabbath observance in the Old Testament sense? The evidence is pretty strong, as the author himself adduces it, against the decision which he himself reaches concerning it, and in favor of an essential extra-Hebrew Sabbath. This would require a modification of prevailing views of the historical Sabbath—it would lose its uniqueness, but it would still be true that Israel had higher and larger ideas of Sabbath observance than her neighbors; that the Sabbath meant more to and did more for the Hebrews than for other nations.

The exhibit of the Sabbath, as found in the Old and New Testament literature, is excellently done, and will be found very useful. One does not know where to look for a similar exposition. The author's views as to Christ's attitude toward the Sabbath as he found it observed among the Jews of his

time, are in accord with current views, and quite likely are the true understanding of the matter. As to Paul's attitude toward the Sabbath he takes a moderate view, that Paul did not urge them to give up Sabbath observance, but not to perform it with Judaic rigor and emphasis. Others think Paul was much more radical in his idea of the Sabbath. Professor Salmond explains correctly the way in which Sunday superseded the Sabbath when he says: "No word of Christ, no decree of the apostles, is on record abrogating the seventh day and appointing the first." And had there been such, it presumably would have been put upon record. "Rather was it by a gradual way, under the sense of a divine propriety and the suggestions of apostolic practice," that the change came about.

The great majority of people need to read carefully a good historical and ethical exposition of the Sabbath, both in its Jewish and in its Christian form, and perhaps we still need to ask ourselves more precisely, what is the nature of the Christian Sunday, as derived from its predecessor, the Jewish Sabbath, and as derived from its own peculiar occasion and significance.

C. W. V.

Die juedische Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons. Von DR. J. WINTER und DR. AUGUST WUENSCH. Erster Band.

This is the more important half of an anthology of Jewish literature since the close of the Canon. It is appearing under the joint editorship of a Jewish rabbi and a Christian theologian, with the coöperation of several other distinguished scholars, among whom are Dr. Fürst, the lexicographer, and Dr. Hamburger, the author of the well known Jewish Cyclopaedia. As this volume deals exclusively with the literature of the Hellenistic and Talmudic periods, it is full of interest for biblical students, since that literature is throughout directly or indirectly connected with the Hebrew Scriptures. Many curious specimens of early Jewish exegesis are to be found in its pages. The extent of the ground which it attempts to cover can only be estimated by those who have gone over part of it themselves. The editors have tried to deal in this part of their work with the so-called Apocrypha, the writings of Josephus and Philo, Jewish Apocalyptic literature, the Targums, the two Talmuds, the earlier and later Midrashim, and the small tracts appended to the Talmud. The value of the book consists principally in copious translations from the Talmud and the Midrash and the literary introductions which are interspersed. Much use has been made, of course, of the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* of one of the editors, but still there is much fresh matter, including specimens of Mechilta, Sifre, Sifra, Tanchuma, and Jellammedenu by Dr. Fürst. The execution is weakest, as might be expected, in the treatment of Hellenistic and Apocalyptic literature. No specimens are given from the Wisdom of Solomon. But little is quoted from the Book of Enoch, and that is reproduced from the translation of Dillmann issued in 1853, no notice being taken of the Gizeh fragment. The absence of indexes, especially of an index of texts illustrated,

is to be regretted, but may well be excused in view of the excessive laboriousness of the undertaking.

W. T. S.

The Theology of the New Testament. By WALTER F. ADENEY. [The Theological Educator.] New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1894. Price, 75 cents.

This book answers its purpose well. Its treatment of New Testament Theology is for popular reading, but yet is exact and scientific in its method. Nearly half of the book is occupied with Christ's teaching, which is taken up topically, and material gathered indiscriminately from the Synoptists. The Apostolic period is treated much in the same way, each chapter being introduced by a general discussion of the author and the period, which is followed by a topical treatment of the salient theological doctrines. The plan throughout is to show theological belief in its historical development. It gathers up first the threads of Old Testament doctrines and contemporaneous history, and works them skilfully on to the beginnings of Christianity. At every step in advance a picture is given of the theological status of the period, and an estimate made of the character of its chief characters. Development of doctrine is traced even in the individual writer.

The treatment is devout, well sustained and entirely clear of any scientific dryness. In fact, the evident purpose, as may be gathered from the general plan, is to put as much color into the book as is consistent with its more or less thorough treatment of the subject. The book is strong in its simplicity and devotional seriousness. The author shows an acquaintance with all the latest and best literature on the subject. He adopts the ordinary chronology and puts all the writings of the New Testament within the first century. The fourth gospel is accepted as of Johannine authorship, but as being more or less idealistic. The book is very helpful, both for its spirit and its method, and well repays reading.

C. E. W.

Our Christian Passover. A guide for young people in the serious study of the Lord's Supper. By REV. C. A. SALMOND, A.M. [Bible Class Primers]. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. Price, 25 cents.

This primer fills an actual want in Bible Class literature. One would think from the style that the author, while writing, has a class of his own communicants constantly before his mind, and is simply talking with them in an easy familiar way, rather than endeavoring to furnish a text-book to be used in private study. It is doubtless because of this limitation that so many dogmatic statements appear in the little book. It would seem, therefore, to be suitable for Pedobaptist churches, and only a certain portion of them. But aside from this, the whole subject is made so easy and luminous that the book is very well adapted to its purpose, and can be recommended to pastors or others who are conducting Bible classes.

C. E. W.

The Gospel of St. John. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1894. Price, \$1.00.

The chapters that make up this volume were first written as a commentary on the International Sunday School Lessons for the *Sunday School Times*. Some of them are written in Dr. Maclaren's best vein. As a commentary on the gospel they are somewhat fragmentary, because they follow the plan of the Sunday School Lessons; and though they form the lessons for half-a-year, much of the gospel is omitted. Each chapter is prefaced with the passage to be commented on, and so is even more complete than when first published. The lectures are to be commended as containing, in a permanent form, some of Dr. Maclaren's incomparable writing. C. E. W.

The Gospel According to St. Peter. A study. By the AUTHOR OF SUPERNATURAL RELIGION. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1894. Pp. 139.

Die Composition des Pseudopetrinischen Evangelien-Fragments. Mit einer synoptischen tabelle als ergänzungsheft. Von Dr. HANS VON SCHUBERT. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1893. Pp. 12+196. Price, M. 4.50.

Das Petrus-evangelium, Synoptische Tabelle, nebst übersetzung und kritischem apparat. Herausgegeben von Dr. HANS VON SCHUBERT. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1893. Pp. 31. Price, M. .50.

The Gospel of St. Peter, Synoptical Tables, with Translation and Critical Apparatus. Edited by H. VON SCHUBERT, D.D. Authorised English translation by Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. Pp. 31. Price, 60 cents.

The Akhmim Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter. Edited, with an introduction, notes and indices, by H. B. SWETE, D.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1893. Pp. 48+34. Price, \$1.60.

It is now almost two years since this fragment of second century apocryphal literature was given to the public in the *editio princeps* by M. Bouriant, and during this time it has been critically studied and investigated by every New Testament scholar. The literature upon it is already quite extensive, considering the size and importance of the document. Of valuable writings upon the subject other than these named here the somewhat radical work of Harnack and the very conservative work of Zahn may be particularly mentioned. This work of Schubert's is a third German production of note treating of the spurious gospel. Presumably the discussion is yet to be continued, but the time already elapsed admits of these works being at least semi-final.

It may be years before any considerable addition will be made to the knowledge of the subject.

The Synoptical Table of the Gospel, by Dr. von Schubert, named above in the German edition, and in the authorized English translation, is a very useful pamphlet to aid in the critical study of the fragment. It simply presents the text of the Apocryphal Gospel, and in parallel columns shows every point at which this text resembles the text of each of the four canonical Gospels, and also its relations by quotation and otherwise to the Septuagint. It exhibits in the most concise and practical form the phenomena of the fragment which are to be examined in a comparison of it with New Testament literature.

For English readers it may be safely said that Professor Swete's edition is the best. It is admirably prepared, with a portion of the Gospel in facsimile as a frontispiece, a long and exceptionally good introduction to the work, which presents the many matters of interest connected with the piece, and then the text, accompanied by thorough and scholarly notes. His point of view is conservative, and is, perhaps, as satisfactory as can be found. It is not on the more conspicuous points that the various writers disagree, for all identify the fragment with the Gospel of Peter mentioned by Eusebius, and the great majority place it at the middle of the second century. The difference of opinion is as to the relation of this spurious gospel to the canonical Gospels, and there can be no such thing as a harmony of ideas here. The views of Professor Swete are moderate and reasonable. The work by the author of *Supernatural Religion* is in altogether the same vein as his previous writings. Brilliantly composed, attractive in the reading, much scholarship and show of fairness, but with a determination to undermine the Christian faith and belief in the Bible as in any sense a supernatural revelation, or the record of it. The book is well worth reading for the sake of learning how the same document may appear quite differently to two men who occupy different points of view and hold different ideas of historical Christianity. The conclusion from his investigation is that "we have in it a primitive and less crystallized form of the Christian tradition." "It is neither better nor worse than the more fortunate works which have found a safe resting-place within the Canon of the Church." (Pp. 132-3). But by Professor Swete (pp. 36-37) the work is classed among the spurious, fictional writings of the second century, a working over of canonical Gospel material in the interest of docetic and gnostic teaching, to supply a heretical sect with a gospel suited to their notions. So the radical school and the conservative school will always disagree with regard to whatever affects their divergent conceptions of the history. This fragment has proved a good test and a good revealer of the true inwardness of the parties in the matter of early church history.

C. W. V.

The Resurrection of the Dead: an exposition of 1 Corinthians XV. By the late WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. Price \$1.75.

These lectures appeared originally as articles in *The Monthly Interpreter* and *The Expositor*. They are published in this book form in accordance with what is known to have been the writer's intention. The discussion is very luminous in style and very attractive, because of the persuasive way in which the Apostle's thought is presented and elucidated. As indicated in the title, the author expounds in order the verses of 1 Corinthians XV., following closely the Apostle's thought, rather than giving any views of his own. The lectures are clear, candid, and manly.

C. E. W.

Kuerzere Texte zur Geschichte der alten Kirche und des Kanons. Von ERWIN PREUSCHEN. Freiburg i. Br., 1893. Mohr, Royal 8vo (pp. xvi, 186) M 4.

Selections from early writers illustrative of Church History to the time of Constantine. By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN. London: Macmillan & Co., 1893. 8vo. (pp. ix, 167); bound. 4 sh.

Preuschen's book¹ is a most welcome contribution to science and literature, dealing chiefly with the relations between the early church and the Roman government. It consists of 94 short selections from writers of the first three centuries of our era, and 12 texts on the history of the canon. Until we shall get the larger work of the Royal Academy at Berlin, promised in Harnack's *Early Christian Literature*, Vol. I., students will do well to carefully study the primers of Preuschen and Gwatkin. It is to be hoped now that early Christian literature will be studied more extensively in Theological Seminaries and Universities than has been done hitherto. Next in importance to a knowledge of the original languages of the Old and New Testament, there are very few subjects as valuable and yet as much neglected, especially by the theological student, as the Septuagint, the chief witness to the Old Testament text, and *Early Christian Literature*, the main witness to the New. While the average student and minister may not be expected to read the bulk of early Christian literature, yet he will do well to peruse such carefully selected texts as given by Preuschen and Gwatkin. The latter calls his book *Selections from Early Christian Writers*. I doubt, however, whether Tacitus and Pliny would be willing to be voted into the pale of the Church whose members were "for their secret crimes hated by the common people." On the whole we cannot but recommend Gwatkin's selection, giving 72 short texts and extracts dealing chiefly with the history, life, and teachings of the early Church, rather than her relations to the heathen world and the Roman government. The two

¹ Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmen-geschichtlicher Quellenschriften als Grundlage für Seminarübungen, herausgegeben unter Leitung von Professor D. G. Krüger. Aches Heft.

books supplement one the other, and will prove a great help to the student who can devote but a short time to the study of early Christian literature. It would doubtless be a most interesting work, if some one would publish a companion volume to these two primers, setting forth the relations of the early Christians to the Roman-Greek society and the heathen world in general. This would make the circle complete. The chief objection against Gwatkin's book is the addition of an English translation of the texts on the opposite page. I consider this by no means "a benefit for such as are but mean scholars." A "mean scholar" will take the translation and never look at the original text; while, on the other hand, any student that knows Latin and Greek sufficiently well will object to the English translation for obvious reasons. Mr. Gwatkin should have published either the texts alone as Preuschen does, or simply a translation of these. In either case, he would have had abundant space to add short introductions and some critical notes to the most important texts. This is one of the great advantages of Preuschen's book. For the critical student it is of the greatest importance to know where a text is taken from. Let me illustrate this in one instance. Gwatkin prints (pp. 76-83) in plain lower case type text and translation of the 85 lines of the Fragment of Muratory on the Canon, without notes or comment. Preuschen, pp. 129 foll., tells us above all that the text is from Man. Codex Ambros. J 101, sup. saec. viii. 1 fol. 10^{ab}-11^a; he prints an almost facsimile text, with copious textual notes and emendations, references to former editions, etc., where, however, we miss Laurent, *Neutestamentliche Studien*, 1866, pp. 195-209. Similar cases abound.

Preuschen offers some of the very latest finds, such as the inscription of *Arykanda*¹ (p. 87) and the *Acta Apollonii* (p. 28).² The *libelli* or certificates of orthodoxy of two libellatici,³ and the discussion of Gerhard Ficker (of Halle) on *Abercius* of Hierapolis⁴ were published too late to be inserted in either book. The reader of the extracts from Clement's letter to the Corinthians (Gwatkin, pp. 2 foll.) will be greatly interested to know that a Latin translation of this epistle has lately been discovered and published by

¹ This bilingual Inscription has been reproduced, translated into English, and annotated by A. B. Grosart in the *Expository Times*, September, 1893.

² On the *Acta Apollonii* see now Conybeare's book: "Monuments of Early Christianity." New York, Macmillan & Co., 1894.

³ These two *libelli* were found, the one among the Brugsch-Papyri in the Berlin Museum; deciphered by Dr. Krebs, and published in the *Proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Science*; the other in the Rainer Papyri, from which they were collected and edited by Professor Wessely (*Sitzungsberichte d. K. Akad. d. Wissensch., Philol.-hist. Classe*, 3. Jan., 1894); also see A. Harnack in *Theol. Litztg*, 1894, Nos. 2 and 6.

⁴ Gerhard Ficker: *Der heidnische Character der Abercius-Inschrift* (*Sitzungsber. der K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissen.* V, 1. Febr., 1894, 87-112; and again Victor Schultze, *Aberkios von Hierapolis*, *Theol. Litbl.*, 1894, Nos. 18, 19, and 30.

Germanus Morin.¹ It is to be hoped that both books will be used by many students of early Christian literature, and we bid them, again, a hearty welcome.

W. M. A.

Discipleship. *The Scheme of Christianity.* By the author of "The King and the Kingdom." Williams & Norgate. London, 1894.

The doctrine of this book is very novel, and the practical results deduced from its discussion are even more striking. It calls attention to Christ's emphasis on the word disciple, and makes Him to signify by a discipleship, literal following in His own footsteps. The vast mass of Christians are therefore simply believers. A large body of *disciples* then is the agency to evangelize the world, and until such a body of disciples springs into being, society and the world will never be Christianized. "The noblest of all causes is Discipleship, the next noblest is Socialism." The book has ostensibly no bias, and yet it is not difficult to see that a most absorbing bias dominates its spirit. Its non-division into topics and chapters seems to be a rebellion against the ordinary form of theological argument. The most sweeping criticism that can be made is that the author reads the gospels without any reference to the Oriental character, or regard for the manifest condition, of the society and times in which Jesus lived. The book, however, is valuable as being an evidence of the interest that is concentrating itself on the teachings of Jesus.

C. E. W.

Ecce Filius, or the Gospel of Truth and Grace, by Positive Manifestation. By JAMES OSWALD SWINNEY. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell & Co. Price \$1.00.

There is much practical sense in this little book. It is written in a very readable style. It gets its freshness largely from the fact that it is a study of the self-consciousness of Christ, rather than a presentation of Pauline theology. There is very little in the book, however, that is new, although what is said is evidently the product of much original reflection. A singular feature is an introduction which combats the main position of the book. This dogmatic introduction was written at the instance of the author and seems to contemplate an audience of laymen, and to evince an intention to be fair and candid.

C. E. W.

¹ *Anecdota Maredsolana.* Vol. II., fasc. I. Sancti Clementis Romani ad Corinthios epistolae versio latina antiquissima. Edid. Presb. D. Germanus Morin, 1894 (XVII., 75 pp. 4.). See e.g. A. Harnack, *Theol. Litztg.*, 1894, No. 6, and Johannes Haussleiter, *Theol. Litbl.*, 1894, No. 15. The letter has also been published by that eminent Latinist Professor E. v. Wölfflin: *Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Korintherbriefes des Clemens.*

The Supernatural in Christianity. With special reference to statements in the recent Gifford Lectures. By Principal RAINY, D.D.; Professor J. ORR, D.D., and Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D. With prefatory statement by Professor A. H. Charteris, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. Pp. 10+111. Price, 75 cents.

This is the reply of the Edinburgh professors to the attack made upon supernatural Christianity by Professor Otto Pfeiderer, of Berlin, in his recent lectures at Edinburgh upon the Philosophy and Development of Religion, delivered upon the new Gifford foundation. The exact words of that attack may be found in the second volume of the lectures of Professor Pfeiderer, published by Blackwood & Sons, London (imported by Putnams, New York). It is the most recent and perhaps the most radical elimination of everything from the biblical narrative which cannot be accounted for by exclusively natural processes. This small but important book, in defense of the supernatural in the Christian religion, endeavors to answer the objections made, and to show the inadequacy and the unhistorical character of Professor Pfeiderer's position and criticisms. That they succeed in this would not be admitted by the German doctor and his followers, but to the great majority who are not weighed down with the inveterate prejudice of this school against the supernatural the reply seems very apt and convincing. It is not in England or in America that Professor Pfeiderer can, at least at present, expect to awaken a large acceptance of his radical views—indeed, even in Germany there is a significant turning away from the extreme and rigorous theories which have been advocated during fifty years, beginning with Baur, by certain eminent scholars. Just because Professor Pfeiderer has made valuable, perhaps even invaluable, contributions to the study of primitive Christianity, his extreme ideas upon the subject of the supernatural will attract greater attention and carry greater weight than they deserve to do.

Even for those who have no access to the Gifford lectures, this joint work of the Scotch scholars will be a very helpful book to know thoroughly as an antidote for anti-biblical arguments which are current everywhere. The introductory lecture, by Professor Rainy, discusses The Issues at Stake. The second lecture, by Professor Orr, answers the question, Can Professor Pfeiderer's View Justify Itself? and the closing lecture, by Professor Dods, treats of the Trustworthiness of the Gospels. It is needless to say that these scholars have dealt with these subjects competently and impressively.

C. W. V.

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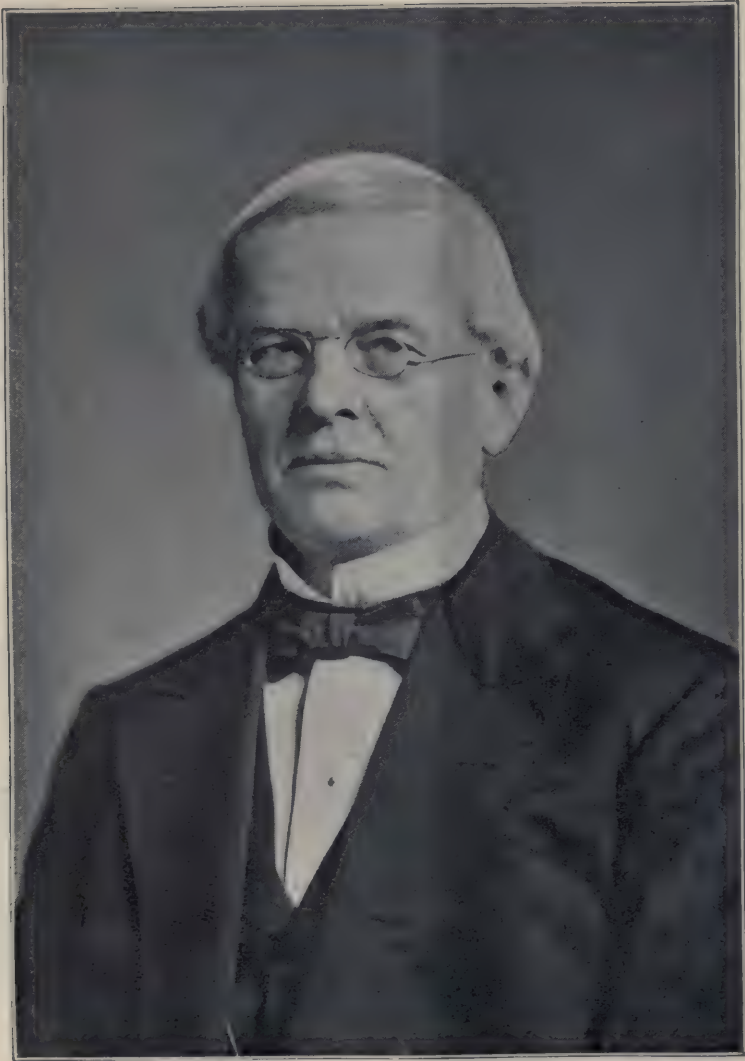
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Dr. A. Dillmann.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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ARE we inclined, in these days, to place too much stress upon the necessity of a knowledge of the *times of the Christ*, in order fairly to understand the work and teachings of the Christ? So some think, and, in consequence, they divorce almost entirely these words and teachings from the historical connection in which they had their origin. Thus separated an interpretation is offered which is at times boldly literal, at times wholly mystical. The student does not, in all cases, realize how much is dependent upon a settlement of this question. What is to be said?

THE life of the Christ was both human and divine. His divinity is best appreciated and most firmly established by approaching it through the study of his humanity. This evidently was the method of the early disciples. The humanity of Jesus can not be adequately understood without a careful consideration of his environment. Nor, indeed, can his divinity. That he is not a product of his times can be best seen when the influences and forces of these times have themselves been carefully measured. In the life of Christ is discovered an effect for which no sufficient cause can be found in surroundings or natural causes. A careful study of *the times of the Christ* is one of the best refutations of naturalism, and one of the strongest evidences for the supernatural, as revealed supremely in him.

THE times of the Christ were truly cosmopolitan. Emphatically we find in them "the fullness of time." Palestine felt extensively the play of Greek and Roman life. The influences coming down from the Hebrew past were met by influences almost equally potent, which were the product of the Greek past and the Roman present. Jesus cast his life, as living grain, into soil containing these mingled elements. No one can clearly understand the birth and early days of Christianity, the method of its development, and the character of its more mature life, without seeing this mingling—and sometimes antagonism—of living forces. Jewish customs and Greek spirit, together with Roman law, were prime factors in producing the age of the Christ. The study of this period becomes a valuable study of the revelation of the divine purpose in history.

THE period between the Old and New Testament has been greatly neglected in popular religious instruction. The literature, outside of the Old Testament apocryphal books, produced by the Jews during this period, both in Aramaic and in Greek, was extensive, and its contents are most valuable as representing the tendencies of the times. The disciples of Jesus were under the influence of potent religious ideas, which are mirrored forth in this literature in remarkable fashion. Only by contrast with these existing thoughts can the ideas which came forth from the mind of the Christ, and were implanted by him in the thinking of his followers, be clearly seen and appreciated. His education of these men consisted in the removal of bias and prejudice and lower views, through the entering in of the more universal, the higher and the spiritual. Thus were they untrammelled of their Jewish past and of the narrowness of their legal present by the sharing of the mind of the Christ. The literature of the New Testament is the revelation of this mind of Jesus as received, reflected upon, and held forth by these disciples. The New Testament writings are therefore best interpreted by him who is well acquainted with the times of the Christ, as disclosed in their religious ideas and tendencies.

THE relation of the Christ to world tendencies and forces was much more intimate than that of his Jewish contemporaries, not perhaps so much in detail as in essence and spirit. In no sense, it must be insisted, were his ideas an eclectic product from the teachers of the past. Yet with these, in their greatest moments, he is always found in closest touch. He who believes that all truth is of God is not surprised to find the Divine Man naturally showing forth, in his utterances, expressions of truth which stand in close relation to the noblest truth which had preceded, while far outreaching this truth in clearness, distinctness, and vital power. That thought of the times of the Christ which was most markedly non-Jewish sheds a bright light, both by comparison and by contrast, upon the essential teachings of the New Testament. The best of Pagan thought is emphasized in these pages, while, at the same time, it is elevated, corrected, and surpassed. Christianity, through the living mind of its Master, took up into itself all the good of the past, and crowned with the better of the present, while it pointed toward the best in the future. The study of the times of the Christ is a lesson, well worth the learning, of the inclusive, rather than the exclusive, character of the religion which he founded

AUGUST DILLMANN.

By the REVEREND GEORGE L. ROBINSON,
Berlin, Germany.

The loss sustained by Germany through the death on July 4, 1894, of the renowned Æthiopic scholar and Old Testament exegete, DR. AUGUST DILLMANN, deserves comment both on account of his philological investigations in Semitics and of the numerous and valuable works of which he was the author. What Franz Delitzsch was to Leipzig and Abraham Kuenen to Leiden, August Dillmann was to Berlin. We can here give but a sketch of his life and writings.

Christian Friedrich August Dillmann was born on the 25th of April, 1823, in Illingen (Württemberg). Having received his gymnasium training in Stuttgart and Schöndal, he entered at seventeen the University of Tübingen, and there devoted himself for five years to the study of philosophy, theology, and especially oriental languages. He was the pupil of Heinrich Ewald, one of the greatest orientalists and biblical exegetes that Germany ever produced. On leaving the University he entered the ministry and preached from October, 1845, till May, 1846. He then returned to Tübingen and in May of 1846 obtained the degree of Ph.D. Through his love for Semitics, the summer of 1846 found him in Paris in the interests of Æthiopic. In the autumn of the same year he went to England, and spent from September, 1846 till April, 1848, searching among the Æthiopic manuscripts in the British Museum of London and the Bodleian library at Oxford. Here he found numerous manuscripts and not only became interested himself in their decipherment, but succeeded in enlisting the interest of the librarians also. Returning to Tübingen in July, 1848, he became *Repetent* in Semitics. In the autumn of 1851 he was made *Privat-docent* in theology, and in February, 1853, *Professor-extraordinarius*. From Tübingen he was called in October, 1854, to succeed Justus Olshausen in Kiel in the philosophical faculty. On Dec. 2, 1859, he was made

Professor-ordinarius. Three years later the degree of Dr. Theol. was conferred upon him by the University of Leipzig. From Kiel he was called to Giessen in April, 1864, as Professor of Theology. Here he lectured (having among others B. Stade under him) until October, 1869, when he was called to Berlin to succeed E. W. Hengstenberg in the chair of Old Testament theology. He remained in Berlin twenty-five years, indeed until the time of his death. During this period he was Rector of the University in 1875-76; and at his death was Dean of the theological faculty. He was also in 1881 president of the Fifth International Oriental Congress. During his professorial life he received and declined calls to Marburg, Zürich, Halle, Vienna, and Tübingen (three times). He was also a member of numerous Academies and scientific and oriental societies.

As an orientalist, Dillmann was preëminently an Æthiopic scholar. He gave a large portion of his time to the language of Abyssinia. In his inaugural address on entering the Academy of Science in Berlin in 1877, he declares that for over thirty years he devoted more than one-half of his time to the study of this interesting but quite forgotten language. For more than 150 years *Geez* (or Æthiopic as it has been called since the sixteenth century) had been entirely neglected by the oriental scholars of Europe and the Occident. In his study therefore, Dillmann was practically without the helps which a student of other Semitic languages has at hand. The only source from which he could obtain any real assistance was the work of Hiob Ludolf who died in 1704. At first he stood quite alone as few were able to follow him. Oftentimes, he says, he could not resist the thought that he was devoting himself to a laborious work to no purpose. Recently, however, Semitic scholars have begun to recognize the value of Æthiopic literature and history. Dillmann himself was first led into its study by purely theological investigations. His primary aim was to discover and publish the book of Enoch. This took him to France and England in search of possible manuscripts. Thus by discovery, fields of Æthiopic literature were opened up to him. He at once set to work to catalogue the various manuscripts, and by doing so not only secured for him-

self fame, but set the direction of his life's work. These catalogues were published in 1847-48. Three years later appeared the book of *Enoch* in Æthiopic, and in 1853 the same translated and explained. Not long after appeared also his *Octateuchus Æthiopicus*, and in 1857 his *Æthiopic Grammar*, which for more than a quarter of a century remained the standard. The book of *Jubilees* followed two years later, and in 1865 his greatest work a *Lexicon* of the Æthiopic language in Latin. (He apologizes in the preface to his Grammar for writing in *German*.) These two works, viz., his Grammar and Lexicon, Ernst Curtius designated, when he received Dillmann into the Academy of Science in Berlin, as "Monumente deutscher Geisteskraft." Following these there appeared in 1866 his *Æthiopic Chrestomathy*, in 1871 the books of the *Kings*, in 1877 the *Ascension of Isaiah*, in 1878 the *Abyssinian Manuscripts* of the Royal Library in Berlin, and in 1894 his last published work, just completed a few days before his death, the books of the *Apocrypha*. But in addition to this library of Æthiopic literature, Dr. Dillmann has contributed other works quite as valuable, and through which he is better known to the theological world. These are his five famous commentaries on the Old Testament, namely, "Genesis," "Exodus and Leviticus," "Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua," "Isaiah," and "Job." For thoroughness of scholarship these commentaries are among the very best. Those on the Hexateuch are, to use the words of C. H. H. Wright, "among the most important biblical works of modern times." In addition to these Dillmann wrote numerous articles for encyclopædias, and for religious and scientific periodicals. As an Old Testament critic Dillmann (with Kittel) stood quite alone, having been for several years past the most formidable antagonist of the Grafian school. His position in criticism is, therefore, important and worthy of more than the following brief exposition.

1. *His position with reference to the Hexateuch.*

Dr. Dillmann sets forth his views on the Hexateuch in the *Dissertation* which closes his "Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua." Not being able to accept the unity of the Pentateuch

as maintained by Hengstenberg, and believing thoroughly in a historico-philological science of biblical criticism, he followed the leadings of his philological training. In his commentary on Genesis he gives his reasons for analyzing the Pentateuch into distinct codes. They are chiefly these: 1. There are in the book of Genesis all kinds of conspicuous and needless repetitions. 2. Many accounts are not necessary for strengthening the story. 3. There are accounts which oppose and exclude each other, because the event can have happened only once or in one way. 4. There are also irreconcilable statements. 5. Others, standing where they now are, are a riddle. 6. Especially certain time reckonings cannot be harmonized with oneness of authorship. On these grounds Dillmann proceeds to analyze the Hexateuch. His nomenclature is as follows: *A* is the *Grundschrift*,¹ or Priestercodex as it originally was, or *P* of others. *B* is the *Elohistic* code, or *E* of others. *C* is the *Jehovistic*, or *J*. And *D*, as commonly, is the original kernel of Deuteronomy.

The determining factor in Dillmann's critical position is his disposition of *P*, which he assigns to the period *before the exile*. He holds that such laws as are found in *P* were possible in the ninth century, for the prophets furnish us with polemics against the overestimation and alienation of the cult, which shows that already the cult was built out in this direction (*Num.*, *Dt.*, *Josh.*, p. 662). That a hierarchical system was then in vogue is self-evident, and Deuteronomy furnishes nothing against it (*id.* pp. 652, 659). Also the promise of "eternal possession of the land" in *Gen.* 17:8, he considers, more appropriate to pre-exilic than to post-exilic times (p. 667). Furthermore, *P* contains a list of statutes and laws, which for the post-exilic times were impractical, *e. g.*, the territories of the twelve tribes, concerning the Levites and the cities of refuge, laws of war and right of booty, the ark of the covenant, Urim and Thummim, and the anointing

¹ Dillmann distinguishes, as Wellhausen, Kuenen, and others, different strata in *P*.

(a) For example, his *Grundschrift*, *A*, is the same as *Q* of Delitzsch and Wellhausen, and *P*^g of Holzinger (*Einleitung in den Hex.* 1893), and *P*² of Kuenen and Cornill.

(b) And his *Sinaigesetz*. *S*, which consists chiefly of the holiness laws of *Lev.* 17-26, is the same as *H* of Klostermann, *P*^h of Holzinger, and *P*¹ of Kuenen and Cornill.

of the high priests which did not begin in that time and which were not used after the exile (p. 67of.). He therefore is convinced that P is pre-exilic, and is probably best to be assigned to a date circa 800 B.C. (as Nöldeke). At this time the legendary history was, as Hosea and Amos show, at an end, and a chronological system was in vogue (p. 661). He also investigates P and finds that the holiness laws of P^h (S) are older than the original *Grundschrift*, P^g (p. 644). The laws of P^h, he thinks, are known and used in P^g (p. 654). He maintains that the prophet Ezekiel lives and moves in P^h and presupposes everywhere these laws (pp. 645-647), though he finds it difficult to say which laws were known to Ezekiel, and finds like difficulty in analyzing the laws of P^h (p. 640). At the same time he is sure that the laws of P^h are older than these of P^g (p. 644), and older also than Deuteronomy, as Deuteronomy seeks to restore a host of older customs through certain expressions (p. 646 comp. p. 605). He is convinced that Deuteronomy presupposes the laws concerning leprosy, and of clean and unclean animals, and claims that this arouses a favorable prejudice for the remaining laws (p. 647). He holds it as very unlikely that the priests in the literary period of the kings noted nothing of their statutes, and so he disputes vigorously on these grounds that the codification of the laws of P^h began first in the exile. On the other hand, he admits that P^g contains laws which in the historical life of the people first came into use after the time of Ezra (p. 651). He finds by further investigation that the laws of Deuteronomy are not used in P^g which, on the contrary, shows strong deflections from P^g. In proving the priority of P^g to Deuteronomy it is of great weight (p. 655) that in P^g all polemic against Deuteronomy is wanting. He therefore makes the proposition that Deuteronomy is dependent on P^g. Comparing further P^g with J he attempts to show, though with evidently less conviction, that there is a dependence of the *Ur-geschichte* in J on P^g. For example, the history of the creation and the flood in P^g is older, he thinks, than that in J (p. 656). He also claims that E is older than J (p. 655f.) as J borrows from E and is evidently dependent on E. In this Dillmann agrees with Schrader, Kayser, and Reuss, and opposes

Wellhausen, Kuenen, Stade, Budde, and others who maintain that J is older than E. Dillmann's analysis of Deuteronomy is also interesting and instructive. He lays great stress on its being a prophetic law-book, and reclaims as much for the original kernel as possible. What Wellhausen and Cornill consider a secondary introduction, Dillmann claims belonged to the original Deuteronomy. He allows that the book passed through the hands of a redactor, R^d, who made certain changes and transpositions; *e. g.*, 11: 29-32 is removed from its original place after 27: 1-3 and has been glossed over; 11: 26-28 stood originally behind chapter 28 (p. 288). In Deuteronomy 1: 1-4: 40 he distinguishes at once 4: 1-40 and 1: 1-3: 29, and shows that they have no important relation to each other. The historical archæological notes in 2: 10-12, 20-23; 3: 9-11 sound very strangely in the mouth of God or Moses. Hence he holds that they are better explained as a reported introduction, and argues that R^d in uniting Deuteronomy to the other previous books has shifted an original historical introduction of Deuteronomy, and made it into a speech of Moses in order to avoid a simple repetition (pp. 227, 683),—a procedure which he also accepts, on account of v. 8, for the explanation of Joshua 22 (p. 576). All contradictions brought up by other critics between the historical introduction and chapters 5-26, Dillmann thinks can be satisfactorily explained, *e. g.*, 2: 14f. which conflicts with 5: 2f.; 11: 2-7, shows the hand of R^d who created contradictions through trying to harmonize two accounts.

Regarding the redaction and uniting of the different codes of the Hexateuch, Dillmann maintains the following order¹: 1) P^g+E+J. 2) P^g E J+D. 3) P^g E J D+P^h. He recognizes the close relation between J and E but holds that it was not J+E and then J E+P^g, but immediately P^g+E+J; that is, P^g, E and J were united all at the same time (p. 677). There is likewise a bond of union between J E and P^g, indeed they are so closely worked together that only a sharp criticism can discern the seams which separate them, *e. g.*, P^g and J in Gen. 6: 9-9: 17; chapters 13, 16, 34, etc.; and P^g with E in Num. 20: 1-13 (p.

¹The Grafian-Wellhausen order on the contrary is: 1) J+E. 2) J E+D. 3) J E D+P.

677f.). Dillmann claims that the idea of a supplementary unifying of P^g with J E raises a series of difficulties which are easily solved by the supposition of a unification of all three sources *at the same time*. A proof of this is, that in Gen. 21:1-7 it might well be understood how in E J, vss. 3-5 have been inserted later or supplemented out of P^g ; but it is not possible to see how vs. 16 (P^g) is added to vs. 1a (J) which is identical; and neither is it possible to see how the reference in vs. 26 (P^g) has been changed so as to refer back to 17:21 (P^g) and not to 18:14 (J). Hence the later working in of P^g into J E is impossible (p. 678). Moreover, there are cases where the *harmonist* in uniting E and J made use of expressions in P^g ; and there are also cases in which the harmonist of J, E and P^g used expressions belonging to J. Dillmann, therefore, argues that J and E are better understood when we consider J and E as two separate sources lying before the redactor who united E, J and P^g (p. 679). Also he claims that to the Deuteronomist E and J still lay as two separate and independent compositions. Hence he places the joining of E, J and P^g as *subsequent* to the composition of D. For the postponement of it till the time of the exile there is no reason at hand, as any hint of this event is entirely wanting (p. 680f.). The redactor of P^g E J on the contrary knew D, he thinks, and hence he concludes that P^g , E and J were united in the twenty or thirty years before the exile. A second stage of redaction took place in the early part of the exile, when D was added to P^g E J, or rather as he prefers to think, D was completed through P^g E J (pp. 682-684). Later in the exile also, the remaining traditions of the cult, existing groups of *Torah* now found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers (P^h) were collected and added to P^g E J D making P^g E J D P^h , by which time a further production of law was impossible (pp. 685-689).

Dillmann's view of the Hexateuch may be briefly stated, therefore, as follows:

1) The oldest code is E (B), written by a prophet of Ephraim, about 850 B.C.

2) The next oldest is P (A), written by a priest of Judah, about 800 B.C.

3) The third oldest is J (C), written by a prophet of Judah, about 750 B.C.

4) Following these is D, dependent on P, and written in the time of Josiah.

5) Following the composition of D,—twenty or thirty years before the exile,—P^g, E and J are united.

6) Then early in the exile P^g E J are added to D, enlarging and completing it.

7) Finally in the latter part of the exile P^h (S) is added to P^g E J D and the law of Ezra is practically complete. The text was, however, not yet fixed, as the Samaritan and Septuagint variants show. That Dillmann's view of the Hexateuch, especially his idea that P is of pre-exilic origin, is not nearer the truth than that of the modern school, remains yet to be shown.

2. *His position concerning Isaiah and other Old Testament books.*

In his commentary on Isaiah, Dillmann refuses to go to the extravagant extremes of Duhm and Cornill, who assign parts of Isaiah's prophecies to the Maccabean age. He is unable himself, however, to assign more than twenty-two chapters with certainty to the prophet Isaiah. He dates the non-Isaianic portions as follows: 21:1–10 was composed not far from 549 B.C., 13:2–14:23 not long after 21:1–10 in the last half of the exile; 23:1–18 from the beginning of the fifth century; 34 and 35 are towards the end of the exile; 36–39 are by a deuteronomist from the books of Kings; 24–27 are from the first sixty or seventy years after 536 B.C.; 40–66 are a *unit*, and for the most part after 546 B.C., the last section being probably between 546 and 538 B.C.

In the case of Job, the subject of the book is "*das Leiden des Gerechten*." He rejects the speech of Elihu on account of its long-drawn-out sentences, and the lack of the regular strophes common to the clear, short sentences of the other parts, and concludes that it has been added by a later hand,—by one who, after reading the book of Job through, put into Elihu's mouth what Job had failed to say concerning righteousness, thus improving the book. He acknowledges that the book shows traces of

redaction, but rejects Cheyne's idea that it is a compilation of six smaller books. He assigns it to the period between 596 and 585 B.C. as being the most probable date. That the book is post-exilic, Dillmann considers "unthinkable"; that it was written in the Greek period, "foolish." Concerning the other Old Testament books, Dillmann, in his lectures on *Introduction* (not likely to be published; though he had hoped to write a commentary on the Psalms), held that none of the Psalms is Macca-bean, that Joel is pre-exilic, that Zechariah 9-11; 13:7-9 is by a contemporary of Isaiah, that Obadiah and Zechariah 12:1-13:6; 14 are out of the end of the exile, that Jonah is a book of history out of the Persian times, that Ecclesiastes is also out of the Persian period but very late and at a time when the name *Jahwe* was considered too sacred to be used, that Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah are a unit and the work of one author, that Daniel was composed between 175 and 168 B.C., or before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and, that Esther is the latest of all the canonical books of the Old Testament.

From this brief survey of the life and work of Dr. Dillmann, it is not difficult to form an opinion of the breadth and depth of his scholarship. In Æthiopic he was a *discoverer*. He unearthed a buried language, opening up to the world by his volumes, especially through his *Grammar* and *Lexicon*, a new field of history and literature. His work in this department has called forth the praises of scholars on every hand, even in Abyssinia. His fame has reached her distant cloisters, and Dr. Dillmann is held, according to the traveller Schweinfurth, "the first authority in the language and literature of the *Geez*." But Dr. Dillmann was more than an Æthiopic scholar. He was also a *Hebraist and a critic*. In order to do valid and lasting work in criticism, he felt that a knowledge of comparative Semitics was indispensable. He was therefore, as O. C. Whitehouse remarks, "*par excellence* a Semitic philologist. His commentaries are unrivalled for learning, acumen, lucidity and conciseness. . . . Every ray of light from the firmaments of archæology, philology, and eastern travel is focussed, as by a powerful lens, upon the Hebrew text" (*Expositor*, February, 1888). His method in Old Testament criticism and

exegesis was the historico-philological which he learned in the school of Ewald. Those who sat under him were wont to pronounce him above everything else an *exegete*. Two other prominent characteristics were *thoroughness* and *punctuality*. He never hurried, yet he was always prompt. Slowly and carefully he explained everything in its proper order and place. He had a method and followed it. No pains were spared to throw all the light possible on the dark portions of the Old Testament. He used the Septuagint freely, but recognized its fallibility. He could make nothing of Wellhausen's Q_1 Q_2 Q_3 , J_1 J_2 J_3 , E_1 E_2 E_3 , but "hypotheses due to embarrassment." In a word, he was characterized by independence of judgment and clear, good, common-sense.

In May, 1893, the faculty and students of the University of Berlin celebrated his seventieth birthday anniversary by holding in his honor a "*grossen Jubelkommers*." Fourteen student *Vereins* took part. Of the faculty, among those present were the Rector of the University, Professor Virchow; and in the theological department Professors Kaftan, Pfeiderer, Harnack, Lommatzsch, Kunze, Müller, v. Soden, and Titius. A song was composed and sung in his honor, and speeches of congratulation and praise were made by many of those present. Dr. Dillmann's own words on this occasion give a clue to the motives which governed his life's work. He said: "I have always endeavored to hold myself aloof from all hypotheses; and in giving instruction, to give the youth a solid ground of truth on which to stand. '*Vorwärts*' has been my watchword, but not forwards into the wild streams of the day, but rather into what science has recognized as true. I have always endeavored to promote the morality and work for the best interests of the students under me." Such also is the verdict of all who knew him.

For ninety-two consecutive *Semesters*, or since 1848, Dr. Dillmann lectured, and (as university tradition adds) without missing an hour. His last exercise was in *Seminar*, June 23, in which for two hours he discussed the first six verses of the last chapter of Malachi, emphasizing the thought in vs. 1 that, "the Lord shall *suddenly* come to his temple," and closing with vs. 6a "for

I am the Lord, I change not." Unusually pale and fatigued he dismissed the class with his usual remark, "*das Weitere das nächste Mal.*" This was, however, his last exercise in the University he so much loved. After a brief illness of eleven days, he died, falling peacefully asleep. He leaves a wife, two sons and three daughters. In his home Dr. Dillmann was a patriarch. All who ever had the good fortune of having been invited by him to *Abendbrod* know how kind and hospitable he was in his home. Though given to hard and laborious study he always had time to entertain friends, or help those who needed his assistance. His study door was never closed to his family. He was a man of broad sympathies and a great heart.

That Dr. Dillmann is considered an extraordinary loss to the thinking theological world, the floods of letters which have come in to the family since his death clearly show. Letters from Professors and Court-preachers,—Steinmeyer, Dryander, Frommel, and many others,—in Berlin, from the theological faculty of Giessen, and from prominent orientalists the world over; from Kautsch of Halle, Köhler of Erlangen, Smend of Göttingen, Stade of Giessen, Gregory of Leipzig, Budde of Strassburg, Bezold of Heidelberg, Glasser of Saaz in Böhmen, Hommel of Munich, Reinnisch of Vienna, Riessel of Zurich, Matthes of Amsterdam, Halévy and Zotenberg of Paris, Carlo of Rome, Pereira of Lisbon, Cheyne of Oxford, Adam Smith and D. R. Alexander of Glasgow, Francis Brown of New York, Curtiss of Chicago, and many others, all mentioning with praise the "maturity of his criticism," the "earnest self-examination of all his researches," his "scientific investigations in theology," his "labors in *Æthiopic*," the "nobility of his family," his "warm religious life," his "blameless Christian character," and the "calamity his death brings to Old Testament research."

BERLIN, August, 1894.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF DILLMANN.

[The following notes giving a memorandum of his life and writings were left by Dr. Dillmann to his family in his own handwriting, and by special permission are allowed to be used here. A translation is not necessary.]

Christian Friedrich August Dillmann, geb. 25. April 1823 in Illingen.

1828–Nov. 1832 wurde er bei seinem Vater unterrichtet in Deutsch u. Lateinisch.

1832–35 war er in Dürrmenz bei Pfarrer Kern in Pension.

1835–36 besuchte er die VI. Classe des Gymnasiums in Stuttgart.

1836–40 besuchte er das sogenannte "Niedere Seminar" von Württemberg in früheren Kloster Schöenthal.

1840–44 im Seminar in Tübingen. Sept. '44 Erstes theolog. Examen bestanden mit I.—Gewann in '44 den ersten katechetischen Preis.

1844–1845 studierte er als Stipendiat der Stadt in Tübingen.

Sept. 1845 Theolog. Preisaufgabe über die Bildung des alttest. Kanons gewann.

Oct. 1845–1 Mai 1846, war er Pfarr-Vicar in Sersheim in der Nähe seines Heimatsorts.

14. Mai 1846 promovierte er in Tübingen zum Dr. phil.

Juni–Sept. 1846 befand er sich auf einer wissenschaftlichen Reise in Paris.

Sept. 1846–April 1848 hielt er sich in London u. Oxford auf.

Von Juli 1848–Sept. 1851 war er Repetent in Tübingen. Während dieser Zeit las er alle alttest. Collegien ausserdem orientalische Collegien.

Seit Herbst 1851 war er Privatdocent der Theologie in Tübingen.

In Febr. 1853 wurde er Prof.-extraordinarius hon. in Tübingen in der theolog. Fakultät.

Seit 1 Oct. 1854 war er Prof.-extraordinarius in der philosoph. Fakultät in Kiel für Altes Testament, Hebräisch, Arabisch, Syrisch, Äthiopisch u. Sanskrit.

Am 2 Dec. 1859 wurde er Professor-ordinarius.

1862 ward er zum Dr. theol. hon. causa von Leipzig ernannt.

Am 1 April 1864 ward er Prof. der Theologie in Giessen.

Am 10 Oct. 1869 trat er seine Professur in Berlin an.

1875–1876 war er Rektor der Universität Berlin.

1881 Präsident des V. internationalen Orientalisten-kongresses.

Während seiner Lehrthätigkeit erhielt er Berufungen; in Kiel: nach Marburg, Zürich u. Halle; in Giessen: nach Wien u. Tübingen; in Berlin: nach Tübingen (zweimal); hat sie aber alle ausgeschlagen.

1) Correspondent der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen seit 10 Nov. 1857. Auswärtiges Mitglied seit 7. Dec. '72.

- 2) Auswärtiges Mitglied der K. bayrischen Academie der Wissenschaften in München seit 25 Juli, 1872.
- 3) Ordentliches Mitglied der K. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin seit 28 März 1877.
- 4) Auswärtiges Mitglied der Royal Asiatic Society in London seit 20 Febr. 1882.
- 5) Auswärtiges Mitglied der American Oriental Society seit 24 Mai 1882.
- 6) Honorary Member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis seit 7 Sept. 1891.

Selbstständige Druckschriften.

- 1) Catalogus codicum Mss. Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur. Pars III. *Codices Æthiopici*. Lond. impensis Musei Brit., 1847, fol. 79 S. S.
- 2) Catalogus codicum Mss. *Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ* Oxoniensis, Pars VIII: *Codices Æthiopici*, digessit Oxon., 1848, 4°, 87 S. S.
- 3) *Liber Henoch Æthiopice*, Lips. Vogel, 1851, 4° 91 u. 38 S. S.
- 4) *Das Buch Henoch*, übersetzt u. erklärt, Leipz. Vogel, 1853, 8°, 331 S. S.
- 5) *Octateuchus Æthiopicus*, Lips. Vogel, 1853–5, 4°, 486 u. 220 S. S.
- 6) *Grammatik der æthiop. Sprache*, Leipz. Weigel, 1857, 8°, 435 S. S.
- 7) *Liber Jubilæorum Æthiopice*, Kilian, 1859, 4°, 167 S. S.
- 8) *Lexicon linguae Æthiopicae*, Lips. Weigel, 1865, hoch 4°, 1522 Spalten.
- 9) *Chrestomathia Æthiopica*, Leipz. Weigel, 1866, 8°, 290 S. S.
- 10) *Erklärung des Buches Hiob*, Leipz. Hirzel, 1869, 8°, 370 S. S.—4^{te} Auflage 1891.
- 11) *Libri Regum*, Æthiopice 2 Hefte, 1871, 4°, 169 u. 137 S. S.
- 12) *Die Genesis* erklärt, Leipz. Hirzel, 8°, 1875, 495 S. S. Neue (4^{te}) Auflage 1882, 5^{te} 1886, 6^{te} Auflage 1892, 8°, 479 S. S.
- 13) *Ascensio Isaiaë*, Æthiopice et Latine, cum prolegomenis, Lips. 1877, 8°, 86 S. S.
- 14) *Exodus u. Leviticus* erklärt, Leipz. Hirzel 1880, 8°, 639 S. S.
- 15) *Numeri, Deuteronomium, Josua* erklärt, Leipz. Hirzel, 1886, 8°, 690 S. S.
- 16) *Die abessinischen Handschriften* der K. Bibliothek zu Berlin mit 3 Tafeln, Berl. 1878, 4°, 85 S. S.
- 17) *Der Prophet Jesaja* erklärt, Leipz. Hirzel, 1890, 8°, 470 S. S.
- 18) *Veteris Testamenti Æthiopici, Libri Apocryphi*, Berl. 1894, 4°, pag. 221.

Aufsätze in Zeitschriften.

- 1) Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft, Bd. VII. 1853: Zur Geschichte des abessin. Reichs. Königsverzeichnisse und Inschriften. S. 338–364. 2) In Ewald's Jahrbüchern der bibl. Wissenschaft. a) Jahrb. III. 1849, S. 230–256 u. IV. 1850–I, S. 1–96: Das Buch der Jubiläen. b) Jahrb.

V. 1852–53, S. 1–144: Das christliche Adambuch das Morgenlands. c) *ibid.* S. 144–151: Über dem Umfang des Bibelcanons der abessyn. Kirche. 3) In den Göttinger Gelehrten Nachrichten 1858, S. 185–226: Bericht über das Äthiopische Buch clementinischer Schriften. 4) In den Jahrbüchern für deutsche Theologie, Bd. III. 1858, S. 419–491: Über die Bildung der Sammlung heiliger Schriften des Alt. Test. 5) "Im neuen Reich," Leipz. Hirzel, 1875, S. 778–786. *Heinrich Ewald.* 6) In den Schriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

A. In den Monatsberichten: 8°.

1) 1878, S. 413–429: Abfassungszeit des Periplus maris erythraei. 2) 1881, S. 429–433: Eine neuentdeckte punische Inschrift zu Sulci. 3) 1881, S. 601–620: Über Baal, mit dem weiblichen Artikel. 4) 1881, S. 914–935: Kalenderwesen der Israeliten vor dem babylon. Exil.

B. In den Sitzungsberichten: 8°.

1) 1882, S. 427–440: Die Herkunft der ungeschichtlichen Sagen der Hebräer. 2) 1883, S. 323–340: Beiträge aus dem Buch der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuchtextes. 3) 1884, S. 1007–1038: Die Kriegsthaten des Königs 'Amda-Sion gegen die Muslim. 4) 1885, S. 889–98: Über Pithom, Hero, Klysmä nach Naville. 5) 1887, S. 339–356: Über die apokryphen Märtyrergeschichten des Cyriacus mit Julitta und des Georgius. 6) 1888, S. 215–237: Über das Adlergesicht in der Apocalypse des Esra. 7) 1890, S. 3–17: Bemerkungen zur Grammatik des Geez u. zur alten Geschichte Abessyniens. 8) 1890, S. 1345–1373: Textkritisches zum Buch Hiob. 9) 1892, S. 3–16: Über die griechische Übersetzung des Qoheleth. 10) 1892, S. 1037, 1039–1054: Über den neugefundenen griechischen Text des Henoch-Buches. Zweite Mittheilung, S. 1069, 1079–1092. 11) 1894, S. 1–19: Über die geschichtlichen Ergebnisse der Th. Bent'schen Reisen in Ostafrika.

C. In den Abhandlungen, 4°.

1) 1879, S. S. 61f.: Über die Anfänge des Axumitischen Reichs. 2) 1880, S. S. 51f.: Zur Geschichte des Axumitischen Reichs im 4^{ten} u. 6^{ten} Jahrh. 3) 1884, S. S. 79f.: Die Regierung insbesondere die Kirchenverfassung des Königs Zara'-Jacob. 4) 1885, S. S. 24f.: Gedächtnissrede auf Richard Lepsius.

Universitäts-Programme.

1) Giessener Antrittsrede: Über den Ursprung der alttest. Religion, Giessen, Rickert, 1865, 8°. 2) Giessener Rectoratsrede: Über die Propheten des alten Bundes nach ihrer politischen Wirksamkeit, 1868, 4°. 3) Giessener Rectoratsrede: Über die kleinen Universitäten, 1869, 4°. 4) Berliner Rectoratsrede: Über die Theologie als Universitätswissenschaft., 1875, 4°. 5) Berliner Rectoratsrede: Über den Verfall des Islam, 1876, 4°.

Betheiligung an Sammelwerken.

1) Realencyclopädie für praktische Theologie u. Kirche von Herzog., 1854ff. a) Äthiop. Bibelübersetzung. b) Bibeltext des A. T. c) Chronik.

d) Pseudoepigraphen des A. T. Dieselben in neuer Bearbeitung für die II. Aufl. von Herzog.-Plitt-Hauck. 2) In Schenkel's Bibellexicon, Leipz. 1869–75. Bd. I.: Äthiopien u. Kusch, Bund, Cherubim u. David. Bd. II.: Eden, Elam, Feste, Gesetz u. Gesetzgebung. Bd. III.: Henoch, Jebusiter, Kanaan, Kanaaniter, Kirchweihfest. Bd. IV.: Laubhüttenfest, Michal, Nabal, Naph-tuchin, Nasiräer, Nathan, Noah, Paradies, Passah, Peresiton, Perez, Perser, Persien, Pfingsten, Propheten. Bd. V.: Purimfest, Rephaim, Salomo, Saul, Sirach, Seraphim, Suchim, Sündflut, Thirsaka,—35 Artikel. 3) An Brockhaus Conversations Lexicon, von der 11–13^{ten} Auflage mit vielen Artikeln. Hat die Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie von Bd. XX.–XXIII., 1875–78 mit herausgegeben. Hat auch die Verhandlungen des V. internationalen Orientalistencongresses Bd. I., II., 1–2, Berlin 1881–82, herausgegeben.

THE CHILD PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH. ISAIAH VII: 1-IX: 7.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE W. DAVIS, PH.D.,
Macalester College, Minn.

The historical background of the Child Prophecies. The theories as to the fulfillment of the prophecies.—Details of the actual fulfillment, with the pith of Isaiah's prophetic messages of this period.—The occasion and utterance of the subsequent prophecies by Isaiah of the same import.

The historical background of the Child Prophecies of Isaiah is the Syro-Ephraimitish war. The origin of that war was as follows: It was the custom of the Assyrian kings, after ascending the throne and consolidating their domestic affairs, to make large foreign expeditions, generally westward. Tiglath-pileser III.¹ (745-727) was now the reigning sovereign. After one or two campaigns in the east, he directed his operations against Arpad and Hamath in Syria, the former of which had been the center of a hostile coalition which included Uzziah, king of Judah. Syria and Israel lying in the line of these western expeditions were the first to suffer from invasion (2 Kings 15: 29). During the earlier period of the disruption the political relations between these two kingdoms were greatly strained, but now they sink all local animosities and join hands to resist a common danger. They had frequently made incursions into Judah by which it had become greatly weakened and demoralized (2 Kings 15: 37); and when Ahaz ascended the throne, Rezin and Pekah saw in his characteristic timidity a grand opportunity to force him to an alliance with them, against which combination of powers Assyria could not possibly succeed.²

¹For an account of his reign see Driver's "Isaiah," p. 7 *et seq.*; "Records of the Past," (New Series), Vol. V., p. 115. Since the discovery by Pinches ("Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon") of a Tiglathpileser II., among those who preceded Assurnatsirpal, he is now known as Tiglathpileser III.

²From Isa. 7: 6, they clearly intended to put upon the throne one who would be entirely subservient to them. The name appears to indicate that he was a Syrian. For other incursions, especially by Rezin, see 2 Kgs. 16: 6; 2 Chron. 28: 17f.

Israel, also, probably knew that there was a strong Assyrian party in Jerusalem which favored an alliance with this great eastern power, and since this would mean inevitable defeat for the North, they strove to make Judah a vassal of themselves. Ahaz, although thinking to invite the assistance of Tiglathpileser long before this, at last determined to do so (2 Kings 16:7), thus "following the precedent set by Menahem." This step was successful for Judah for awhile,¹ but was only a step towards the great captivity at last. It also "cost Ahaz his independence." and a large amount of treasure. for he had to strip the temple of its sacred vessels, and give them to the Assyrian king (2 Kings 16:8). The confederacy, then, between Rezin and Pekah has been formed, and the final march against Judah begun. The alarm was so great in Jerusalem that the "king's heart shook, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest shake before the wind (Isa. 7:2). Isaiah, becoming aware that Ahaz had appealed to Assyria for help, went out, according to an express command. with his son Shear-Jashub, and meets Ahaz who is arranging for a supply of water in case of a siege at "the conduit of the upper pool."² This is the first time that the prophet is brought into personal contact with the king. Full of confidence, he says, "Ahaz, be quiet, don't fear; these two kings of the North are only the stumps of smoking firebrands, there is no fire in them, they cannot do you any harm. God has said that their purpose shall not stand nor come to pass; yet if *you* do not believe, *you* shall not be established."³ Ahaz hesitates. Jehovah replies through the prophet, "Ask a sign in the heights or in the depths, that what I have said is true." The king hypocritically answers, "I will not thus tempt the Lord." Isaiah, righteously indignant that this descendant of David's house and ruler over God's heritage should so madly invite destruction for Judah itself, cries out, "You count it of little importance

¹ Tiglathpileser attacked the confederate forces in the rear, thus diverting the attack on Judah.

² Isa. 7:3; cf. Hezekiah, on a similar occasion, 2 Chron. 32:3; also Isa. 22:9.

³ There is a forcible play on words in the Hebrew. Some one has compared an old North-of-England expression: "If ye have not faith, ye cannot have staith."

that you vex and weary me by your foolish policy, do you count it a small matter to weary my God? His purpose shall stand, and inasmuch as you have declined to ask a sign, he will himself give you one and this is it: A maiden¹ shall bear a son and call his name 'Immanu-el' [God (is) with us], and so reduced will his country be when he arrives at years of discretion that his only food will 'be curdled milk and honey.' Why? Because by this time the land (viz. Syro-Israel) of the two kings whom thou hatest shall be forsaken (vs. 16). But in addition to this, O Ahaz! the destroyer that is to effect their ruin, viz. Assyria, shall come against thee and thy people and thy father's house, and the days shall be unlike any since the disruption of the kingdom. You have hired a razor to shave Judah of its foes, but that same razor will by and by despoil you (vs. 20)."

And Isaiah's predictions came true, for, about thirty years afterwards, Sargon met Hanno of Gaza and Sabako of Egypt at Raphia on the very borders of Judah "and the land itself was terribly devastated by the wild Assyrian soldiery."²

But in spite of these dangers which threaten Judah, Isaiah is still full of hope. He expressed it first in the sign "Immanuel," he now does it in a second more popular sign. Jehovah instructs him to take a large tablet of wood covered with soft wax and write upon it in bold characters, "For Maher-shalal-hash-baz" (spoil speedeth, prey hasteth), a two-fold prophecy of the rapid success of the Assyrians against the confederacy. To prepare against any disputes in the future, he has two men, Uriah and Zechariah, witness the act. About a year afterwards, his second son is born whom he is commanded to call by the above name, "for before the boy shall know how to cry, my father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria shall be carried away before the king of Assyria." (Isa. 8: 1-4; cf. also 7: 16).

The pith of both prophetic messages thus far is, the North

¹ It is generally agreed that *ālmā* signifies a young woman of marriageable age.

² Driver's "Isaiah," pp. 34, 44. "Sabako" is called "So" in Herodotus (ii. 137), and the Bible (2 Kings 17: 4). See Schrader's "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament, under this passage.

shall not succeed in their campaign, for God is with us; both children are signs, the first of God's presence according to the ancient covenant; the second of the speedy overthrow of the northern confederation by Tiglathpileser.

But in this overthrow Judah, also, was to suffer. That terrible stream, about to envelop Rezin and Pekah, was to sweep over Judah itself, stretching out its wings over "thy land, O Immanu-el," but should reach only to the neck, for its "invisible Lord" (Immanu-el) would protect it from entire destruction (vss. 5-8). This last thought fills the prophet with new courage who calls upon the nations outside to do their worst, yet they shall not prosper, for, Immanu-el. (vs. 10)!

But the powerful Assyrian is still moving onward, and amid the deepening darkness Isaiah offers a prayer (1) that his teaching may be permanently preserved, and (2) that it may accomplish its purpose, for he and his children are for signs (vss. 16-18). This prayer is followed by a warning not to resort to necromancy, but to the religious instructions of the prophets, otherwise, when it is too late, they will look to the earth, but only darkness; to the heavens, but only deep darkness; Zebulon and Naphtali and the region beyond Jordan, says the prophet, though now dishonored by being taken into captivity by Tiglathpileser (734) shall be glorified, however, in the latter time; instead of the present "darkness," a "great light"; instead of the present sorrow, the "joy of harvest"; instead of the present captivity, freedom from the "yoke"; instead of war and bloodshed, all implements of war destroyed; instead of Tiglathpileser, a child who is yet to be born, and whose names shall be "Wonder of a Counsellor" (T. was a counsellor, but this child is to be a "wonder of a counsellor"), "Hero of a God" (T. was a hero, but this one is to be a "Divine hero"), "Father of Eternity"¹ (in sharp contrast with the mortal life of the Assyrian), "Prince of Peace" (T. was rather a prince of strife). This child is further to be of

¹ Others (Hitzig, Knobel, Kuenen) "Father (*i. e.*, giver) of Booty," but, as Cheyne observes, this "is against the parallelism and out of harmony with the religious character of the passage." Orelli translates, "Eternally Father," on the ground that "Father of Eternity" "gives too metaphysical a turn." So Gesenius, Delitzsch, Dillmann (*Der Prophet Jesaia*).

David's line, and to sit on David's throne; his empire is to be peaceful and growing, and to stand upon the eternal foundation of righteousness; and so important is this work in the divine economy that in spite of any obstacles, human or satanic, the undying energy of the Divine Nature will surely bring it to pass.

Such, briefly, is the historical situation of the Syro-Ephraimite war, and the child-prophecies of Isaiah which grew out of them. But how were these child-prophecies fulfilled? These discourses certainly had an application then and there, they were intended for the times in which they were delivered. Let the Bible and the monuments tell their story.

First, as regards *Syria*. It was predicted, "Behold, Damascus (the capital) is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap."¹ The fulfillment reads, "And the king of Assyria went up against Damascus and took it, and carried (the people of) it captive to Kir and slew Rezin."² The Assyrian accounts which we possess of the fall of Damascus and the death of Rezin are very meagre. There is a mutilated inscription in the British Museum from which we learn that Tiglathpileser entered Syria at the head of an army, and fell upon Rezin, who was defeated and fled to Damascus, where the Assyrian king besieged him for two years, at the end of which time he was taken and slain.³

Secondly, as regards *Ephraim*. As we have seen, the prophet foretold, in several ways, its overthrow. The narrative reads, 2 Kings 15:29,30, "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglathpileser, of Assyria, and took . . . , Gilead and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali (all situated in the N. and N. E. of Israel), and carried them captive to Assyria." In his annals the king says, "The land of the House of Omri⁴ the distant,

¹ Isa. 17:1; cf. also Amos 1:3.

² 2 Kings 16:19.

³ Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," Vol. ii., pp. 131, 132; Schrader, in 2 Kings 15:37, where the passage from the inscription is given; also, his "Sammlung," Band ii., p. 31 (foot-note). Tiglathpileser says, "bit abiou sa Rasuni mât Gar-Imêrisuæ . . . alvi aksud=the house of the father of Rezin of the country of Gar-Imêrisu (=Damascus-Syria), . . . I besieged, I took. The date is 732 B. C.

⁴ "mât Bit Humrû," the Assyrian title for Northern Israel.

the whole of its inhabitants, together with their possessions, to Assyria I deported. *Pekah*, their king, I slew." Though Israel lost this large territory and population in 734, yet Samaria, its capital, did not fall until captured by Sargon, 722, twelve years later.

Judah, though seriously weakened for the assistance she received, was left unmolested for the present, "and the danger which Isaiah feared passed, for a time, away (Driver)."

But who was this child Immanuel that so filled the prophet's imagination and inspired him with such continuous hope? And here I can do no more than mention the various theories, without entering into the arguments *pro* and *con*.¹

1. The old orthodox Jewish opinion² was that it referred to Hezekiah, soon to be born, or already born, to Ahaz, and employed by the prophet as a sign of Jehovah's presence. It is regarded by the opponents of this view as a sufficient answer to it that Hezekiah was, according to any chronological scheme, already eight or nine years old.

2. Others³ hold that Immanuel refers to a son soon to be born to the prophet himself, viz., Mahershalahashbaz, and Isa. 8:3 et seq. is quoted in proof. It is important to remember, however, *a*) that while the child's mother is called a "maiden," the prophet's wife is called a "prophetess"; *b*) that Isaiah does not speak of the birth of his second son with that peculiar solemnity with which he, on every occasion, refers to Immanuel.

3. That Isaiah *supposed* this case to indicate a mere "note of time"; but this does not comport with the emphasis which the prophet puts upon the *child* as a real personage.

4. The *ideal* view, held by Eichhorn, Driver, and practically, Cheyne. Canon Driver says (p. 41), "The language of Isaiah forces upon us the conviction that the figure of Immanuel is an *ideal one*, projected by him upon the shifting future—upon the

¹ See a good summary in Smith's Bible Dictionary, art. "Immanuel."

² Specially the earlier Rabbins. See also "Journal of Biblical Literature," Vol. IX., 1890, Part I, where Professor C. R. Brown argues strongly for this view.

³ Such as the later Rabbins, Kimchi, and Abarbanel; also, Gesenius, Hitzig, and Knobel.

nearer future in chap. 7, upon the remoter future in chap. 9, but grasped by the prophet as a living and real personality, the guardian of his country now, its deliverer and governor hereafter." "It is the Messianic king, whose portrait is here for the first time in the Old Testament sketched distinctly."

5. That of the great body of Christian interpreters who regard it as a direct and exclusive prophecy of our Saviour. This opinion, it will be seen, leaves out of view entirely the fact that the child was to be a "sign" then and there to Ahaz of deliverance from the threatened danger.

It is difficult to tell, of course, whether the child existed ideally or not in the prophet's mind; but it seems to involve less difficulties to hold that Isaiah had in view a particular maiden and child who thus became *types* of the virgin Mary and the Child Jesus. Though fulfilled partially at the time, yet the prophecy only received its fullest and grandest accomplishment in the Incarnation.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN THE EARLY STORIES OF GENESIS.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

The language of these chapters—The text—The literary form on the supposition of Mosaic authorship—The literary form on the supposition of composite authorship—The immediate purpose of the material—Obscurities and difficulties—Some differences and discrepancies—Alleged scientific inaccuracies—The close connection of parallel stories from outside literatures.

In this article an effort will be made to present briefly those facts and considerations which bear upon the human element in the early Genesis stories. It is understood that in the remaining articles (11 and 12) the "divine element" in these chapters will be presented. The reader will therefore remember that at this time we are dealing with but one side of the question, and that consequently the representations of the other side are not to be expected in this treatment.

The question may fairly be asked whether it is necessary at this time or at any time to lay emphasis upon the human element in these chapters. Is it not true that men are only too willing to magnify the human element in the Scriptures, and would it not be better to pass this by? In answer to this question it is to be noted (1) that every statement of a case requires the presentation of both sides, (2) that the number of persons who have too largely ignored the human element is not small, and (3) that the better we understand the human, the clearer will be our conception of the divine element.

1. *The language of these chapters.*—We say to ourselves, and the statement is a true one, the Bible is the Word of God, and consequently these chapters as a part of the Bible constitute a part of that word. But many, in saying this, lose sight of the fact that although the Word of God, it is in the language of man, and that the language of man, no matter what particular language it may be or by whom spoken, is at best a very imperfect and

frequently misleading medium of communication. Moreover, the transfer of divine thought, however communicated to the speaker, into human language must be attended with serious limitations, the character of which will be more and more appreciated as they are contemplated. Still further, the larger part of our material comes from a period of the language or languages of which we know nothing. We may grant that the conceptions come from antediluvian times; they are, nevertheless, at present in a new dress. The names Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, are at best translations of what was earlier used. We may grant the existence of an Adam, but his name could not have been Adam. It is necessary, therefore, in making up our estimate to take into account the inefficiency of language under the most favorable circumstances, and the greatly multiplied difficulties in this regard attending material which comes from or treats of a really prehistoric period.

Something deserves to be said in this connection in reference to the Hebrew. It will be remembered that, whatever may be the original language of the times which our material describes, these stories, if they passed through Abraham's hands, and if we thus assign them the earliest possible date, must have existed, at some time in their transmission, in the language spoken by Abraham when he left Ur of the Chaldees.

But Abraham when he reached Canaan gave up his own language, whatever it was, and adopted that of the Canaanites or Phœnicians. This material, therefore, is now in what may be called the Canaanitish language. And thus another transfer has been made. If we stop to think of the significance of all this, we shall begin to see more of the human element and feel more keenly its influence.

But this is not all. The fact is that the Hebrew language in which our stories are written, when compared with other Semitic languages, for example, the Arabic, is grammatically very indefinite. To cite a few facts: (1) while the Arabic has a case system and a modal system which enable it to express most accurately the nicest shades of thought, the Hebrew has almost entirely lost both case and modal systems. It will be said that the English

language has likewise deteriorated, but in the English language a large number of particles, including prepositions and auxiliaries, have been developed to take the place of the lost case and modal systems, while in Hebrew this has not happened. The fact that the same Hebrew word as written could be translated "he will kill," "he must kill," "let him kill," "would that he might kill," or as a passive with these same variations, or as an intensive active or passive with these same variations, or as a causative passive with these same variations, will give some idea of the unsatisfactory character of the Hebrew language as a medium for expressing exact thought. The fact that the verbal form, which in ordinary prose expresses a future idea, may be, and often is, translated as a present or even as a past, and the fact that the verbal form, which in ordinary prose expresses the past, may be, and often is, translated as a present or future, indicates also the indefiniteness of expression which characterizes Hebrew thought.

All that has been here said applies of course to the entire Old Testament. It must, however, also be considered in any final estimate of these stories.

2. *The text.*—This, likewise, is a general consideration and one which has to do with the question under discussion. We may, at all events, note the following points :

(1) The text as we have it is corrupt in many particulars. There are words which cannot be translated because, in their transmission, they have come to be misspelled. Indeed, there are entire phrases which, as we find them, can scarcely be translated with any degree of satisfaction. This is probably true of Genesis 6 : 3, for which so many possible renderings have been proposed, none of which can be absolutely established. The changes which have crept into the text are better appreciated when one compares two editions of the same passage preserved in different portions of Scripture. As examples of this there may be cited the duplicates, Psalm 18 and 2 Samuel, chapter 22 ; also Psalms 14 and 53. In the former passage one word in every four or five has suffered change. It is true that not all these changes are to be charged to the corruption of the text. Some

of them, doubtless, are intentional on the part of the later editor, but such intentional changes carry with them implications as difficult to explain as the assumption of the corrupt text. The text of the Pentateuch in general is, to be sure, the purest of any part of the Old Testament Scriptures. But even here there is evidence, gathered from the study of the phrases, that the form in which we find the material has suffered change.

(2) The text is rendered more or less uncertain by the deliberate changes which have been introduced. As an example of such change we may cite the dates given in the fifth chapter, the summary of which, according to the Hebrew text, gives a period of 1556 years from the creation to the coming of the deluge, while the Samaritan makes a period of 1307, and the Septuagint one of 2260 years. It matters not which of these three calculations is correct. If we decide in favor of the Hebrew, it remains true that the translators of the Septuagint, living a century or a century and a half before Christ, in a time of great formalism, did not hesitate to introduce changes. The fact that, in the case of five of the patriarchs, the age according to the Septuagint is just 100 years longer than that assigned by the Hebrew text, is sufficient indication of deliberate change.

(3) The text as we have it is in an alphabet, not ancient but very modern. In Ezra's time there was adopted the present square alphabet. In the transmission of the material from the earlier alphabet to this later form, errors were made, as close comparison shows; just as in the translation from one language to another the original must suffer, so in the transcription from one alphabet to another the risk of introducing error is increased. As every one knows, the oldest Hebrew manuscripts now in existence are comparatively modern, coming from the ninth or tenth century A. D. The ancient versions, especially the Septuagint, the Peshitto, and the Vulgate, the last of which is at least five centuries older than our oldest manuscripts, give certain evidence of resting upon manuscripts which differ in many particulars from the manuscripts now in our possession. The point to be remembered is that in these words which have come down to us misspelled and consequently unintelligible, in these phrases which

have undergone so much change as to be at least uncertain, in the changes which have been made in the versions, and perhaps in our text, in the transcription from one alphabet to another in Ezra's times, in the many differences between our text and that which lies back of the various ancient versions, we have indications of the presence of the human element. In other words, the Holy Spirit did not in his wisdom see fit to place such safeguards around the original manuscripts of the Old Testament Scriptures as to preserve them from the same injurious influence which has been exerted in connection with other ancient manuscripts. They were placed in the hands of men and have been subject to the disadvantages which naturally follow. Whatever they may have been in the beginning, the divine influence has not preserved them in their original form. All this is an indication of the human element.

3. *The literary form on the supposition of Mosaic authorship.*—Let us assume that the traditional view as to the Mosaic authorship is correct. On this supposition, however, the following points must be conceded :

(1) The material of the Book of Genesis is a compilation from documents. No one advocates the theory that the material of Genesis was spoken by God in the ear of Moses and taken down by him. It is everywhere agreed that several distinct documents have been put together, and that, as thus put together, they constitute the Book of Genesis. The question then suggests itself, what is the source of these several documents? and whatever theory of the stories we adopt we are compelled to admit a large amount of human element.

(2) There is a lack of what may be called proportion of treatment or perspective. It is difficult to see a divine rather than a human purpose in the fact that the creation of the entire world is described in thirty-one verses, while the story of the deluge receives ninety-seven verses. Was the deluge, in the divine mind, of so much greater importance than the creation of the world? Or is this after all due to a peculiarity of the writer? Again, it is difficult to explain why, when so brief an account is given of the origin of the universe (thirty-one verses),

so much space should be occupied in a comparatively meaningless repetition of routine phrases such as we find in Gen. 5, or in Gen. 11:10-26. Is this lack of perspective something in which there is to be noted a divine purpose, or is it a defect which is to be connected with the human authorship?

(3) No one will fail to recognize the redundant and repetitious character of, say, chapters 5, 11:10-26, and the four chapters which recount the story of the deluge. It is safe to say that every idea in chapters five to eleven, inclusive, could be expressed in one-half the number of words. If this is true, and no one can well deny it, do we not recognize in it the human?

(4) There are also to be seen in these chapters, on the supposition of the Mosaic authorship, some peculiar methods of composition. The use of Jehovah and Elohim is conceded to be as yet inexplicable. The representations on the same subject are to some extent at least different. The style in one chapter is different from that in another. Are now these differences to be attributed to the divine influence, or are they characteristic of the original documents of which the material is composed, or are they to be attributed to the peculiar method of thinking of the compiler of the material?

4. *The literary form on the supposition of composite authorship.*—If now we grant that the analysis of the Book of Genesis shows two or three distinct writings which have been brought together at a date comparatively modern, we find, (1) that different writers give us widely varying accounts of the same event. It is not understood that the statements differ more widely when separated than when joined together. The separation, however, removes the necessity for the forced interpretation which has been pressed upon them for so many centuries. These variations, which are by no means small, are surely indicative of the human element.

(2) That the material has been transmitted to some extent in oral form, and there is no reason to suppose that a divine Providence miraculously controlled the oral transmission, in view of the fact that no such miraculous influence is exerted after the material has taken written form.

(3) That the narratives are in some cases centuries later than the events narrated in them.

(4) That the narratives are colored in form and augmented in material by the thought of the times of the writer. This is seen in the familiar usage of the word Jehovah in the earliest chapters of Genesis, although we are told (Ex. 6:3) that the name was first revealed to Moses at the time of the Exodus; also in the full conception of sacrifice which, according to some of the representations made, existed even as early as the days of Cain and Abel.

(5) That the joining of the original narratives by a redactor has not been accomplished without changes, omissions, and insertions. Here, certainly, although we may assume the divine guidance of the redactor, as well as of the original writer, the human element involved is not inconsiderable.

5. *The immediate purpose of the material.*—The reader who examines these chapters with any sort of care will soon perceive that the purpose of the writer or compiler is not an historical purpose. He does not collect this material simply to record certain great events of which in some way he has become informed. The chief thing in his mind is not a statement of facts. One sees, on the other hand, that the purpose is, at least in part, philosophical, inasmuch as an effort is made to explain existing facts and conditions. It is not the creation itself of which he writes, but the order and purpose of creation and the spirit that ruled in all creative work. It is the significance of the divine acts in their relation to man which is made prominent. The writer sees about him on every side differences of language. This is to be explained as a punishment for sin. It is a barrier which will prevent men from combining for wicked purposes. And so with all the other stories. It is also in large part didactic and intended to show the enormity and the fatal consequences of sin, the power and the gracious providence of God. Material therefore is selected which will illustrate these great teachings. Events of the most important character, from the ordinary historical point of view, are entirely omitted because they will not throw additional light on these teachings.

No one will fail to see how great the influence of such a purpose will be on the form and the material. There is a sense, as we shall see later, in which this purpose is inspired of God ; there is also a sense in which it is the human interpretation of divine acts and of events taking place under divine guidance. In this latter sense, the element is a human element.

6. *Obscurities and difficulties.*—From time immemorial men have made an effort to explain the sacred Scriptures. When we consider the number of volumes that have been written to make these scriptures clear, we are at times tempted to think that it must have been a part of the purpose of the divine author to make them obscure ; at any rate, notwithstanding all that has been written, the obscurities and the difficulties—especially those found in the earlier chapters of Genesis—are most numerous. The very fact that they have needed so much explanation is a fact which proves the existence of obscurities and difficulties.

Their character is varied. Sometimes it is a word of which no one knows the meaning ; sometimes it is a verse which seems to have no logical connection with what precedes or follows ; sometimes it is an historical allusion ; at other times it is a reference to some archæological custom ; many entire books are obscure as to the meaning which they were intended to convey. Those who have studied the first chapters of Genesis realize how much there is in these chapters which seems to be inexplicable. Now were these obscurities and difficulties a part of the original plan ? If so, what was the purpose of introducing them ? But if they were not a part of the original plan, are they not clearly defects, and therefore do they not furnish testimony of the human element ? No one today will pretend to ascribe these difficulties to the Holy Spirit. They are due to the fact that the words were originally written centuries ago, under circumstances entirely different from those in the midst of which we live. Many things were known to the people to whom these words were first uttered, in the light of which they had a plain meaning. To us, however, who are unacquainted with the circumstances, there is much that is dark and inexplicable. Here, certainly, is evidence of the human element.

7. *Some differences and discrepancies.*—Our study of these stories has furnished us evidence of the existence of differences and discrepancies; it is possible perhaps on the basis of certain assumptions to explain some of these, but in spite of every explanation many remain. These differences relate to grammatical usages; to the use of words; to rhetorical style; to historical references; to the particulars of the various stories which are related; to the theological conceptions which characterize the writers.

It is clear that on the supposition of two or more writers the significance of such differences is minimized. We expect to find differences in the statements of three witnesses to the same events, and of three writers about the same subject. The difficulty of explaining them is greater if we are compelled to suppose that the material all comes from one hand.

Much here also depends upon our conception of the final editor and his work. If his purpose was a purely historical one, we are at a loss to know why he should place side by side accounts of the same event so different from each other. If, however, his purpose was a religious one, viz., to teach certain great religious truths, and if these stories are cited as illustrations of the truths, then the whole question assumes a new aspect. In any case there are some points which ought to be remembered: (1) That the material of these reports comes from an ante-scientific period, that is, a period which antedates the birth of that scientific accuracy and critical spirit which today rule the world. In this period, we ought not to expect to find that which might be expected today. (2) That the work is actuated by what may be called a non-scientific purpose; this has already been mentioned. (3) The sources are given us and these, as modern investigators appreciate, are very much more valuable than any digested material which our editor might have left us. Instead of regretting that he chose the policy of placing side by side these reports from different sources, although they do not agree with each other, let us rejoice that he was led to give us the original sources which were within his reach, rather than the results of the attempted reconciliation. (4) There are no dif-

ferences and discrepancies for which parallels may not be found in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, which traverse the same historical periods. One need only make a verbal comparison of two passages as given in Kings and Chronicles to find exactly the same kinds of differences and discrepancies as those which we have noted in these chapters. The same explanation will hold good there and here. (5) A still more interesting field for comparison is that furnished by the Gospels of the New Testament. Here the difficulties and differences are even more numerous and more perplexing. It is evident to a candid student that in all this we see the human factor. It cannot be disguised, it ought not to be ignored. If we grant a large human element all is explained. If we deny it, we certainly assume a grave responsibility in attributing to the Holy Spirit that which is dishonorable and degrading.

8. *Alleged scientific inaccuracies.*—From the point of view of one who takes the position that has been taken in these papers, the alleged scientific inaccuracies are not to be called inaccuracies. If a writer attempts to write a scientific treatise and his statements do not harmonize with the teachings of the science which he represents, we may call these statements inaccurate. It is not right, however, to apply the test of scientific accuracy to statements never made for the purpose of teaching science, but which, written for another purpose, made use of the scientific or unscientific ideas of the times. Biblical apologists will find it much safer to refuse altogether to compare the scientific implications of the early chapters of Genesis with the results of modern science. It has been seen that the writers of these chapters (1) believed in a creative day of twenty-four hours, and represented creation as having taken place within six of these days; (2) represent the light as having existed before the creation of the luminaries; (3) represent the creation of the luminaries according as they appeared to the eye; namely, the sun, the moon, and the stars; (4) seem to represent the serpent as of different form and character before the curse pronounced upon him. It has been seen that the representations made concerning the garden of Eden, its situation and its rivers, are ideal repre-

sentations ; that at no period in the history of investigation has it been possible to determine the details ; that the elements in the representation are found in the same forms in other ancient accounts ; that these do not accord strictly with geographical science. It has been seen that the great ages assigned to the patriarchs are not borne out by history, and are contrary to the teachings of physiological science ; that a table of nations is given which purports to be ethnological and to include all the descendents of Noah, in which, however, many omissions are to be found—a table which, indeed, omits certain great races altogether, and which, therefore, cannot be called a scientific table. These are a few of many important variations between what seem to be the implications of the narratives and the results of science. Now, so far as these differences exist, we must acknowledge that they indicate the human side. In explanation of them we may call attention to two things: (1) the circumstances and surroundings of the writers which made it impossible for them to have written otherwise than as they did. Correct scientific statements would have been utterly confounding in those days. There is as much ground for expecting the Holy Spirit to have given to the ancient writers a different language from that which they ordinarily spoke, or a different vocabulary, as to have expected him to have given scientific conceptions different from those of the times. Those days were days in which science was unknown, scientific methods yet unheard of. At all events, it must be conceded that if the Holy Spirit undertook to reveal a scientific knowledge of things to men of those days, the revelation made was of a strange and peculiar character. Really it is nothing short of blasphemy to attribute these things to the Holy Spirit.

(2) The purpose and plan of the writer. Here, after all, is the important consideration. If these writers were attempting to teach science ; if it was their purpose to indicate certain representations as revelations from on high, the case, in view of all the facts, would be most serious. But no one can show that this was their purpose. It is clear that they had in mind, as we have so frequently shown, a purely religious purpose, and that,

in the carrying out of this purpose, they used material of every kind which came within their reach. This relieves them from the charges which may otherwise be made against them, and, above all, it relieves the Author of the religious ideas which filled their hearts, from the charge of having been ignorant of the facts of the universe of which he himself was the creator. The difficulties which exist, if the human element is ignored, are many and insuperable. But these difficulties, upon the recognition of the human element, vanish in a moment.

9. *The close connection of parallel stories from outside literatures.*—Perhaps a larger share of our attention in the preceding papers has been given to this division of the subject than to any other, and rightly so, in view of its tremendous importance. Any attempt to explain the early stories of Genesis without at the same time consideration of the outside material will, of course, prove inadequate. The matter seems to present itself as follows:

(1) Stories covering exactly the same ground included in the early stories of Genesis are found in all of the more important literatures of antiquity. These outside stories treat of the same subjects—the creation, paradise, the beginning of sin, the fratricide, the fall of angels, the deluge, etc.

(2) Some sort of connection of the outside stories with the Hebrew stories is universally acknowledged. That they stand related no one denies.

(3) A careful investigation of the question shows that the outside stories cannot be traced to the Hebrew story in each case as the original. There is overwhelming evidence that, at all events in some instances, the outside story is older than the corresponding Hebrew story.

(4) It seems certain, notwithstanding the representations of an influential school of modern criticism, that the Hebrew stories are not derived from any of the outside stories, at least in the form in which these outside stories have come to us.

(5) It seems to be a just conclusion that the Hebrew and the outside stories are sisters from one source. The question at once arises, What is that source?

(6) That source is not on the one hand a naturalistic myth,

as some would persuade us to believe; nor on the other hand, as it has commonly been taught, is it an objective revelation from heaven. The facts favor neither of these hypotheses.

(7) That source in each case is an *objective historical fact*, which impressed itself upon the minds of many nations, and which in its religious implications was correctly represented *only* by the Hebrews. And in all this the human factor is of course tremendous. Just where the line will be drawn, how much is human and how much divine, we must confess our inability always, or perhaps in any case, to determine. Whatever else is true we are confident that *the hand of man* is seen on every page, yes, in every line.

Our conclusion, and it is a conclusion which follows naturally, is threefold:

- 1) The human element in these early stories is clearly to be found.
- 2) This human element presents itself in great variety of forms; and
- 3) This human element is of most pervasive character.

The discussion, this time, has been altogether one-sided. No consideration whatever has been given to the existence of the divine element. This one-sidedness, as every reader will concede, was a necessity of the case. In the two papers which follow an effort will be made to present more fully the divine element. Will the reader kindly hold in abeyance any judgment which he is impelled to form, on one side or another, until both sides of the question have been presented?

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

By REV. PROFESSOR J. S. RIGGS.
Auburn Theo. Seminary.

IV. SAMARIA.

Samaria's imperishable interest—Its physical configuration—Openness of the country—Fertility of the land—Views from Ebal and Gerizim—Historic spots and associations—Work of Palestine Exploration Society.

From the fact that the Land has its chief interest in its associations with our Lord, the traveler, as he turns his back upon Jerusalem to go northward, has generally in thought the hills and sea of Galilee. The vivid story of the Synoptic Gospels makes these the object of desire after Jerusalem. Samaria, with one possible exception, seems merely so much country to be passed over in order to reach Galilee. Before, however, the journey is finished, there is ample reason to acknowledge that this part of the land has its own imperishable interest on account of its physical configuration and consequent historical associations. If some of the identifications of the Palestine Fund explorers hold, New Testament events add their part to the long, varied record of scenes enacted amid the plains and on the hills of this region. We can do no better in entering the land than to follow the modern itinerary, for it carries us through the heart of the country and brings us face to face with its distinguishing marks. Over roads that are utterly unworthy of the name, we travel northward to Bethel, and the scenery is yet the same as that described in our study of Judea. Barren hills with narrow valleys and, here and there some cultivation, mark our way. We are still in the border-land. In a few hours, however, after leaving Bethel the scenery has more variation. The mountains are yet rugged, and the roads are stony enough, but the valleys begin to open. There are more olive groves. What looked from the coast like a solid wall of rock forming one continuous sky-line with the mountains of Judah, proves to be far less impenetrable and austere. We are coming into the home of the old tribes of Ephraim

and Manasseh. Josephus does, indeed, describe Samaria as "entirely of the same nature as Judea, since both countries are made up of hills and valleys," but the description is very general. It is the different disposition of hills and valleys which has so much to do with the peculiar history of this central portion. Samaria, Shechem, Bethshan—one must know the spots upon which they stood to appreciate fully their power and glory, their trials and disasters. The natural boundary between Judea and Samaria is the present Wady Deir Ballût—a water-course which rising at Akraheh (the Accrabi of Josephus) runs westward in a deepening ravine and empties into the Anjeh river.¹ Eastward the boundary passed north of the Kurn Surtabeh ridge—the northern boundary of the lower Jordan plain—and ended at the Jordan. The northern boundary was the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon and a line extending to the Jordan close to Bethshan or Scythopolis. The following outline will give the position of these marks;



Within these boundaries, excluding Carmel, a space of 1,405 square miles was included. Prof. Smith, in his "Historical Geography of the Holy Land," has emphasized the "openness

¹Cf Quar. Statement Pal, Exp. Fund, 1876, p. 67.

of Samaria as compared with Judea. As the traveler comes out upon the broad valley leading up toward Shechem or enters the valley of the latter city itself, or rides about the great mound of Samaria this feature becomes very striking. The road from the southern boundary, of which we have spoken, to the northern frontier, is nearly all of it through these broad valleys, which are well tilled and very fruitful. With only little climbing one passes from plain to plain up through the whole land. It is an easy road by the way of the plain of Dothan through into the plain of Sharon. No steep defiles render perilous the entrance of an enemy from the east or the west, and the hills in many places slope gently to these plains. This feature of the land has had much to do with its troubled history. Take for instance the position of Shechem. It lies in a valley which sweeps up from the plain of Sharon past Samaria, and is thus open on the west. On the east the Wady Fârah opens in like manner a broad way to the Jordan. Beautiful as the position of the ancient city is, it is practically defenseless. Hence the choice of Tirzah, and Samaria and Jezreel as places of abode by the kings of Israel. About the strongholds in or near these broad valleys so liable to invasion have been enacted many of the most stirring scenes of the land's history. Samaria, on its mound some 300-500 feet above the broad valley in which it stood, both invited and resisted the attacks of armies from the east and the west.

At least three of these easily ascended valleys run down to the Jordan on the east, while the gentle descent of the hills on the west makes access to the plains behind them in no way difficult. When war departed from them they quickly responded to the hand of the husbandman, and gave to the land the appearance of great fertility. The picture is now vivid in the writer's memory of the field of grain that covered the plain east of Jacob's well; of the long lines of olive trees up the sides of the valleys and of the vineyard with their promise of rich fruitage. Samaria is a goodly land. We think of it, perhaps, too often as the home of the hated rival sect of the Jews, or it is linked with the memory of the extreme deeds of the Israelitish kings. Its very physical character made it, as one has said of it, "oftener

the temptation than the discipline, the betrayer than the guardian of its own," and so on one side the picture is of fair fields and fine olive groves; on the other of beleaguered cities and desolating struggles. The best point of view for a wide outlook over the land is from the top of Mount Ebal. Its towering summit reaches above the outline of the plateau seen from the coast, and tells one at that distance the position of Shechem, which for beauty and attractiveness is unsurpassed. Mount Ebal is 3,077 feet above the sea level, and 1,200 feet above the valley. What Neby Sammil is for a prospect over Judea, this noble mountain is for Samaria. On the north one can see to the high hills of Galilee on the left beyond the Sea of Galilee, and back of them the snowy height of Hermon; on the east beyond the Jordan gorge stretches the broad plateau of the Hauran; on the south are the mountain heights above Bethel; on the west the maritime plain with the flourishing cities of Ramleh, Ludd, and Jaffa, and beyond the blue sea. Nearly the same prospect can be had from Mount Gerizim, though it is not quite as full, as the mountain is some 200 feet lower. The places of historic interest are too numerous to note in an article of this length, but we must stop long enough to mark a few that have especial interest in connection with our Lord's ministry. Just below us in the valley is the site of Jacob's well—one of the two or three spots in the land where one can feel that he is actually upon a place made sacred by the known presence of our Lord. Dr. Thomson has called our attention to the very few places connected with the Master's life and work which can be positively identified. Tradition tries to mark the spot of every notable event, but, as if to render impossible at least, to intelligent pilgrims the temptation to idolatry of places, the exact position of nearly every one is obscured or lost. We must content ourselves with general views and fasten our thought rather upon Him. It is therefore with deep interest that one looks down into this deep well of Jacob; sits upon the curb and recalls that great discourse which fell upon the astonished ears of the Samaritan women. Jewish, Samaritan, Christian and Mohammedan tradition agree about the site and it remarkably



answers to all the demands of both the story of the Old Testament and that of the New. The well is now 75 feet deep but was much deeper, since the bottom is filled up for many feet with stones, thrown in by passing travelers. We had a drink of its cool refreshing water and coming to it about the same time of day "the sixth hour," after a long, warm ride we were able fully to enter into the description in John. One lifts the eye now upon the fields in the plain of Moreh giving promise of the harvest and imagination readily pictures the scene of the Samaritan woman, the wondering disciples and the curious people hurrying over from the near town of Sychar. This lies about half a mile away on the south east slope of Ebal. It is a simple enough picture, but what wide-reaching truth was declared that day by this humble well! Criticism in its eagerness to prove that John could not have written the fourth gospel thinks it finds indisputable proof here in this very scene for there is "a very significant mistake," we are told, about this town of Sychar. It is not known to us as in Samaria. Ever since the time of the Crusaders there has been confusion about the names Sichem and Sychar. But the early Christians placed Sychar a mile east of Shechem and Conder shows us how the Samaritan chronicle clears up the difficulty regarding the identification of the modern name "Askar" with that of Sychar.¹ Every consideration argues for the present identification, and here, as in other instances, it may turn out that John is accurate to a nicety in all he says concerning topography. At any rate here in this open valley under the slope of Gerizim with its Samaritan temple Christ declared that high truth about worship which shall yet do away with all exclusive temples and priestly ritual. This one spot has the deepest interest for the modern traveler and well it may. Its natural setting, its clear identity, its high associations give it worthy honor in the thoughts of all who are privileged to visit it. But there are possibly still earlier gospel associations in this region. If one looks up the valley to the north east, the eye falls upon the upper slope of the Wady Fârah which broadens and deepens as it flows toward the Jordan. There are copious

¹ See Quar. Statement Pal. Explor. Fund, 1877 p. 149.

springs in this valley and here has been located the place of John's baptizing mentioned in John 3:23: "And John also was baptizing in Aenon near to Salim, because there was much water there." The last phrase is manifestly a necessary part of the description. It certainly would be superfluous to speak in this way regarding the Jordan. Arnim (identified with Aenon) is about four miles north of the head-springs, and Salim three miles south. The proximity of these two places points to the Wady Fârah with its broad valley and abundance of water as the place where John sounded his trumpet call to repentance and baptized those who came. The common conception of John the Baptist's ministry is that it was near the wilderness and by the Jordan in the plains of Jericho. Thousands of pilgrims go each year to the supposed site of the baptism of Jesus across the plain from Jericho. Tradition has fixed upon this site and for all that we know it may be the true one, but in John 1:28 we are met with the puzzling statement that "these things," John's testimony and baptizing, were done in Bethabara (A. Vers.; Bethany, R. Vers.) beyond Jordan. Where was this Bethabara? Was this also in the plain of Jericho? The difficulty in that case is that Jesus was present on "the third day" in Cana would be obliged to accomplish a journey of at least 60 miles in one day. Captain Conder argues carefully for the site on the Jordan just above the entrance of the Nahr Jalud into the river. It is somewhat remarkable that the name "Abara" should cling to just this one ford of the Jordan. He suggests that "Bethany," the most approved reading may refer to Batanea on the east of the Jordan. The site cannot be accepted without question, but as placed it would well agree with the Scripture statements and show another important move in the active ministry of John the Baptist. There certainly is as yet no reason to hurry to the conclusion that the author of the fourth gospel is again making a mistake. We subjoin an outline which will give the relative position of these events recorded in John's gospel. They are worthy of study in view of the plausible criticism that tries to use them against John's authorship. These same valleys which have engaged our attention for a moment, saw at their early coming the glad hosts

of Israel and they might well rejoice in the land God had given them as they marked its springs and water courses, its fertile valleys and noble hills.. Here on these very mountains over Shechem, they listened to the reading of the law and echoed their earnest "amens" and then went forth to struggle for the mastery of the land.

Much interesting work has been done in Samaria by the Palestine Exploration society. It has supplemented the vivid description of intelligent travelers by careful detailed work and settled more than one important question. Were it not that it is more to our purpose to give a general idea of the land and its relations to the New Testament story, it were pleasant to linger about the interesting ruins of Bethshan in the valley of Jezreel; about Samaria with its broken columns and ruined church; about Gerizim with its manifold sites Samaritan and Christian; about Antipatris, Cæsarea, Megiddo and other places rich in history. That history, as we have said before, is but a reflection of the conditions of the land itself. In her stern mountains, Judea held her own and waited the coming of her Lord; Samaria heard over and over the tramp of foreign armies and was in possession of a "mixed" race when the Star rose over Bethlehem, but in her midst was declared the truth which is yet to break down all dividing lines forever.

The Bible in the Theological Seminary.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

By the REV. GEORGE W. GILMORE,
Bangor Theo. Seminary.

Rabbi Gottheil once made the laughing remark that "theologians are proverbially behind the times." Without affirming what the rabbi jestingly asserted, it is the purpose of this article to enquire whether, at least in one respect, the theory upon which the education of candidates for the ministry is conducted is fully abreast of the times. To reach a conclusion we have to traverse certain facts.

(1) First among these we must notice the changing condition of things which the academic degree of B. A. represents. A generation ago the graduate who was a "Bachelor of Arts" was, more or less, a scholar in Greek and Latin. Probably no college in the country, certainly no influential one, bestowed its degree upon a man ignorant of the classics. That was not culture which was ignorant of Plato and Xenophon and Cicero and Horace. A knowledge of the writings of those masters was considered as essential as of the propositions of Euclid. The conditions are now greatly changed. Some of the leading colleges require neither Latin nor Greek for entrance or graduating examinations. The baccalaureate degree at present carries with it no guarantee of proficiency in either of the classical languages. And from those very colleges men are knocking for entrance into the theological seminaries and are seeking for admission to the ranks of the ministry.

Our seminaries are as yet unresponsive to this change in educational theory and practice. The curriculum now in force, the requirements yet demanded, are the same as under the old regime, or, if anything, are even more rigorous than ever before. The basis of theological education is the same to-day as it was fifty years ago. It must also be remembered that men who have perhaps had a collegiate education and have gone into business, and later have desired to enter the ministry, are also barred by the necessity for proficiency in Greek and ability to master Hebrew. It is likewise the fact that men of splendid promise, apart from linguistic ability, are turned back from the ministry by the bugbears of Hebrew and Greek.

This is the first set of facts to be looked at.

(2) We have next to call attention to the fact that for probably seventy-five per cent. of the so-called educated ministry, the English Bible is the Bible not only of the pulpit but *also of the study*. By this we mean that

sooner or later, and generally it is sooner, the majority of ministers drop first their Hebrew and afterward their Greek texts for the English version.

The writer had an experience of several years as examiner in the original languages in one of our largest presbyteries. In his service with the examining committees, it was his experience that hardly any of his associates admitted any proficiency in Hebrew, and some not even proficiency in Greek.

The common testimony of experienced pastors was that the exactions of busy pastorates made impossible maintenance of acquaintance with the ancient languages. The young minister found his time for the first year fully occupied in hammering out his two sermons a week, in making preparations for the prayer-meeting, and in getting acquainted with his parishioners. And by the time the first year had passed, his academic habit of referring to the original Hebrew and Greek had passed away, to be resumed in very few instances.

A statistical verification of this is possible. Indeed since the idea of writing this article occurred to the writer, out of thirty-seven ministers of average parishes met and questioned by him, *only one* made any claim to habitual reference to and study of the Bible in the original. Some even regretted the time spent in learning Hebrew and Greek.

(3) We wish to put over against this last fact another set which thus becomes significant. During the first year, indeed we may say the first year and a half, the energies of theological students are devoted to mastering the elements and gaining a vocabulary of the languages of the Bible. Of course this applies with special force to the Hebrew. The time for exegesis in the seminary is therefore necessarily limited. And even after the first year, a large portion of the time allotted to exegesis is necessary for "getting out," *i. e.*, translating the lesson. In the light of this fact it is seen that the greater portion of the seminary drill is devoted to the rudiments of the languages. And when we remember that in many of our seminaries work on Hebrew and Greek stops with the first half of senior year, how little exegesis proper comes into the work becomes at once evident. With the hardest work it is not possible to get much more than an introduction to scientific and practical exegesis.

While the above applies particularly to Hebrew, it is to some extent true of Greek. The professors of New Testament Literature and Exegesis constantly complain of the inadequacy of knowledge of Greek on the part of the students.

Of course the writer is aware that a remedy is proposed by demanding of students who enter the seminary a more extended knowledge of Greek and at least an elementary knowledge of Hebrew, with the idea of saving time in the seminary course. That would be well were it practicable. But do not the proposers of such a course forget a very important fact? The college curriculum is becoming each year more and more crowded and the standard more advanced. The age of graduating students is yearly advancing. Knowledge

is becoming more complex. So that while a few students find time to take preliminary drill in Hebrew during the college course, the rank and file of theological candidates have to postpone the study of Hebrew to the seminary course. And these conditions are likely to continue rather than to cease.

(4) This brings us to consider what is the real state of Bible study in the seminaries. It shows us how small a proportion of the total seminary work is spent upon the *content* of the Scriptures. To this we have already made incidental reference. But the difficulty has not been adequately set forth.

For the first year in most seminaries the study of Hebrew usually occupies four or five hours a week. During the second year about three hours is devoted to that study, and generally two hours during the *first half* of the third year. Now remembering that during the first year all the time is devoted to the language in itself, that is, to grammatical drill and to the acquirement of a vocabulary, and that in the second and third years a large portion of the time devoted to this branch must still be given to the work of translating, we see that all of exegesis that is gotten is a *part* of three hours a week for a year and of two hours a week for half a year. Also, keeping in mind that, at a low estimate, seventy-five per cent. of ministers seldom or never use their Hebrew text, we find ourselves face to face with the question, Is all this study worth while? Does it pay? A still more pregnant question is: do the men in this way gain familiarity with the Bible which they are to use, which will give their teaching authority? Can they by this method become saturated with it, steeped in it, as is necessary for a preacher of the Word? Does it become a tool the use of which is to them second nature?

Here lies what we consider the real strength of the position we take. It is by the lack of familiarity with the English Bible, by the absence of the power of accurate quotation and ready reference that some of our young pastors are characterized.

Is it proposed, then, to abandon the study of Hebrew and Greek in the seminaries? Do we advocate refusal to give the opportunity to learn Hebrew and to study Hellenistic Greek in the seminaries? By no means! But what is proposed is *to introduce the English Bible into the theological course of study*, alongside of the Hebrew and Greek.

We advocate making the English Bible an elective and the Hebrew and Greek Bible equally an elective. We propose that time equal to that given to the study of Hebrew and Greek be given in the English course to exegesis on the basis of the Revised Version; and, *pari passu* throughout the course, for every hour given to the Bible in the original let an hour be given to the English Scriptures, to exegesis, introduction, history of the canon, etc. And at the end of the course and at any time thereafter we have no fear that the teachers of the English Bible will have cause to blush for their pupils, and no apprehension that those pupils will fail to do effective work for the Master.

If it be objected that there are topics to be treated, questions to be raised,

which cannot be adequately discussed on the basis of the English version, the answer is that such questions are exceedingly few and comparatively unimportant. There is no important question within the range of preparation for the gospel ministry which cannot be treated in the study of the English Bible. Even the documentary hypothesis of the Pentateuch can be luminously discussed by the teacher and apprehended by the class. Experience has proved the truth of this statement.

If, again, the objection be raised that contact with the originals is worth much to the preacher, the answer is—granted! But alongside of that we put the actual status, the almost absolute neglect of the original tongues by the average minister. In the light of this the objection carries but little weight.

Once more, we hear the plea that many commentaries are closed books to the student ignorant of Hebrew and Greek. To this the reply is, this is true of some commentaries. But in these days of multiplication of aids to Scripture study, when the best scholarship of the world is speedily made available in English, for the work of the Christian ministry the helps on the basis of the English Bible are so numerous and so excellent that no real damage or loss need result.

We appeal then for the introduction into the seminaries of the English Bible as the basis of study. Let there be two courses, one founded on English, one on the original tongues. And to carry this out successfully there must be no discrimination between the two courses. To discriminate in favor of either is to prejudice in the other both the class of students who will enter and the work they will do. Let the graduating certificate or degree be on a par as to value, equal application having been required. *Also let separate teachers be appointed for this department.* It will not do to call upon the teachers of Hebrew and Greek to teach English also. To ask them to do this is to kill one course or the other. This has been done in one of our seminaries. Inevitably, unless the departments are distinct, no matter how conscientious the teachers may be, one of the courses will feel neglect.

We believe that this movement, which is already in practical working, is founded not only on common sense, but on a deep-seated need of the times. It will work well. It will produce an educated ministry, for there is to be no letting down in requirements, only a substitution. And the result will be a ministry whose familiarity with the Bible of the masses will not have to be gained after graduation.

Comparative Religion Notes.

Testimonies of Recent Writers to the Value of the Study of Religions.—It is still a habit among a certain class of newspaper religionists not only to look upon non-Christian religions as beneath notice but to regard their study as corrupting and dangerous. They are the "vile and filthy teachings of the Orient." It is refreshing to call attention to two utterances of distinguished writers who have recently referred to the importance of this line of study and the spirit with which it should be undertaken.

The Donnellan Lectures for 1889-90, recently published in London, were written by the Reverend T. S. Berry, D.D., on the subject of *Christianity and Buddhism; a Comparison and a Contrast*. In his first lecture Dr. Berry calls attention to two dangers into which students of other religions have fallen. Some praise them too highly, and become strangely unjust towards their own. Others go to the opposite extreme. They fail to see beauty, light, or good in any but their own creed. They apply false standards of comparison, and adopt untrue conclusions. As an illustration of the latter position he instances Spence Hardy's words that "the priests of India are encumbered by weapons that may be wrested from their hands and used to their own destruction. When it is clearly proved to them that their venerated records contain absurdities and contradictions, they must of necessity conclude that the origin cannot have been divine; and the foundation of the systems being thus shaken, the whole mass must speedily fall, leaving only the unsightly ruin as a monument of man's folly, when he endeavors to form a religion from the feculence of his own corrupt heart, or the fancies of his own perverted imagination." Hardy was a missionary for many years, and Berry remarks that "it would not be hard to estimate the result of the work of a missionary who should adopt this line of thought." In commenting on the teaching of the Prologue to John's Gospel, in this connection, our author reveals his own position when he declares: "So far then from feeling any difficulty when we find truth and beauty in Buddhist teaching, rather should we recognize therein a proof of the universality both of the Fatherhood of God and of the diffusion of that Divine Light which, though in varying degrees of brightness, does shine in some measure upon all the sons of men." Further he declares of these Indian thinkers: "The intense earnestness of these men cannot fail to claim our admiration; their toilsome, patient searching after truth, their longing desire to rise above the material and transient to the spiritual and eternal, their devotion and whole-hearted effort for what they regarded as the noblest end of life and being. . . . Surely we may trace even in this strange develop-

ment of human thought, part of that divine discipline by which this race of men was being tutored and trained for higher life and fuller revelation."

The second witness is the learned and devout Bishop of Durham, Dr. Brooke Foss Westcott, whose recent work, *The Gospel of Life*, is concerned with "thoughts introductory to the study of Christian Doctrine." One chapter is entitled "The Work of the præ-Christian Nations towards the Solution of the Problems of Life." Typical and significant statements in this chapter are as follows: "Christianity is the complete answer to all our questioning, so far as we can receive an answer at present, an answer which we are slowly spelling out through the growing experience of the life of the Church. But before this complete answer was given other answers were made, partial and tentative, which offer for our study the most solemn aspect of ancient history. . . . We turn to the long records of the past to learn how men have solved or rather have tried to solve the problems which must meet them more or less distinctly in the course of life. . . . The religious character of man is to be sought, not in speculation first, but in the actual observation of the facts of his continuous development. This consideration alone must be sufficient to impress upon the student of Christian theology the necessity of striving, as opportunity may be given, to understand the essential ideas of faiths, however strange and repulsive, in which his fellow men have lived and died. These faiths all show something of what man is, and of what man has made of man, though God be not far from each one. The religious history of the world is the very soul of history; and it speaks to the soul. . . . A belief in God constrains us to hold that the office of working out different parts of the total inheritance of mankind was committed in the order of Providence to different races. And in every part, in every fragmentary realization of man's endowments and powers, religion has a share. . . . This progress, achieved, at least in thought, on a large scale by the noblest among Gentile teachers, is part of the 'testimony of the soul naturally Christian,' the revelation of the soul's wants which the absolute religion must meet. This is one side of the great lessons of the Gentile religions." Bishop Westcott then proceeds to a study of the thoughts of the religions of China, India, and Persia.

That such a recognition of the place occupied by non-Christian theologies in the investigation of Christian theology is given by such a careful and orthodox scholar is profoundly significant. The time is surely coming when a knowledge of the teachings of religions other than Christianity will be sought by every theological student, and no missionary will be regarded as fully equipped for service until he has a broad and thorough acquaintance with that system of religion which he purposes to fulfill and supplant with the Gospel of Christ. Our Lord was trained in the faith of Judaism, and he therefore knew so well how to reach and rescue those who were seeking for life and salvation in its teachings. What He was as a missionary, all his followers must fain strive to become, not merely in great basal elements, but in all details and qualities which can lend power and point to the work for which,

in the full sense of the word, he gave his life—a life of long preparation, earnest thought, unwearied energy, and total consecration.

New Opportunities for Intending Missionaries.—The Department of Comparative Religion in the University of Chicago seeks to make itself useful to those who are intending to enter the work of Foreign Missions by affording them opportunities, not only for studying the religions of non-Christian peoples but also for laying a foundation in the knowledge of the languages of these peoples. It offers in the Winter Quarter of the present year, 1894-5, a three-months' course in *Hindî* under the direction of the Reverend Fulton J. Coffin, M.A., Hirsch Fellow in Comparative Religion in the University. Mr. Coffin has enjoyed the advantage of practical mission work among the people of India for several years, in the missions in Trinidad, W. I. The statement concerning the course is as follows:

COURSE IN HINDÎ

(for beginners).

- (1) This course will include a careful study of the grammar of the Hindi language, both *literary* and *provincial*; the ordinary rules of syntax; exercises in Hindî composition and conversation; the writing of the language in the native character (both Nâgarî and Kaithî); the reading and translation of easy prose, especially selected portions of the Gospels (in Hindî). Special attention will be given to pronunciation, and, by the use, so far as possible, of the language in the class room, to accustom the ear to the sounds of the spoken language.
- (2) During a three-months' course, a student, with average attention and ability to acquire languages, should become proficient in the elements of the grammar, be able to read easy prose (say the Gospels), in the native character, fluently and correctly, translate simple English into Hindi readily, and carry on a connected conversation with considerable ease.
- (3) Books required:
 - (a) The Hindi Manual, by Frederic Pincott, M. R. N. S.
 - (b) Hindi Grammar (latest edition), by Rev. Dr. Kellogg.
 - (c) Hall's Hindi Reader.

These books are prescribed by Civil Service Commissioners, to be studied by candidates for the Indian Civil Service. All Hindî students should have at least the *Manual* and *Grammar* published by W. H. Allen and Co. and Trübner and Co., London.

Intending missionaries will also require the following:

Hindî Dictionary (Sanskrit character), by J. D. Bate (Trübner and Co.).

Hindustani Dictionary (Hindustani and English, Romanized) by Duncan Forbes (W. H. Allen and Co., London).

The Old and New Testament (in Hindi) (published by the Bible Societies).

(4) The importance of this course to intending missionaries and others :

- (a) Hindi is the vernacular of the masses in British India and dependent states, from Bengal to the Panjab, and from the foot of the Himalayas to the borders of Madras. No one language in India is spoken or understood by so large a number of the people. It is the *living Aryan* speech which is the actual vernacular of the great mass of the Hindu population. It agrees in grammatical form with the Urdû, and thus an acquaintance with Hindi is an acquaintance with the Hindustani (or Urdû) except in the matter of vocabulary—the latter using many words of Persian and Arabic derivation. The Hindi is the medium of instruction in all Hindu schools, and to its study the student or missionary must first direct his attention. It is the avenue to the proper understanding of the great epic poems of India with which it is so necessary to be somewhat acquainted to get a proper understanding of Hindu life and thought.
- (b) An elementary knowledge of Hindi as this course proposes to give will be of special importance to intending missionaries. Such an acquaintance will enable the missionary to enter upon practical work almost immediately upon arrival in the country. The tedious waiting so trying to the new comer and the struggle with the elements of the language under trying circumstances of climate, etc., will be largely avoided. Expenses to Mission Boards can be thus greatly reduced and the initial work of the missionary's life rendered much more pleasant, by being in a position to grow much more rapidly into sympathy with his new surroundings.

Besides the course in languages, opportunities for the study of the historic religions and for comparative investigation into the doctrines and practices of the world's faiths are offered by the professors in the department.

The Reverend John Henry Barrows, D.D., is the holder of the Haskell Lectureship in Comparative Religion, which was established the past year by the gift of Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell, in honor of the Parliament of Religions, of which Dr. Barrows was chairman. Professor Barrows delivers his first course of lectures in April, 1895, on the subject of *The Relations of Christianity to the other Religions*.

Professor G. S. Goodspeed lectures throughout the year upon the general subject of *The Semitic Religions*. During the first quarter the religions of Egypt, Assyria-Babylonia, Phenicia, etc., will be studied; in the second quarter, the religion of the Hebrew People; in the third quarter, Mohammedanism.

Accompanying the work of the first quarter, a careful reading of W. Robt. Smith's "Religion of the Semites" will be undertaken.

The Department also offers a course in *Buddhism* to students who may desire to study by correspondence, and announces lectures for University Extension classes by Mr. Edmund Buckley, Hirsch Fellow for 1893-94, on *Shinto, the Ethnic Faith of Japan*, and *the Science of Religion*.

Synopses of Important Articles.

HEBREW AND GREEK IDEAS OF PROVIDENCE AND RETRIBUTION. By C. G. MONTEFIORE, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1893. Pp. 517-590.

The Greek and the Hebrew have been the two chief contributors to modern civilization. A comparison of the ideas held by both peoples concerning God's rule of man affords some instructive parallels. These may be noted in contrast with some presuppositions which are recognized in all modern thought about the relations of God and man.

(1) Neither Greek nor Hebrew began his religious history with the doctrine of the absolute goodness of God, *i. e.*, the view that God can only desire the ultimate good of His creation and nothing for Himself. The common conceptions were (*a*) divine envy or jealousy of man; (*b*) divine infatuation, or God's incitement of man to a sin which He afterwards punishes. The former plays a great part in Greek literature, especially in Herodotus, where it appears in such statements as "the Deity is altogether envious and apt to disturb our lot" and is illustrated in the lives of Cræsus, Polycrates, and Xerxes, among others. It appears less in the Old Testament and yet is found in the story of the Fall and the Tower of Babel, where the divine jealousy is aroused against men for fear of what they may become. The two literatures come together in the view that those who are in high station are naturally inclined to pride, and pride is sin against God (cf. Isa. 2:12-17; Herod. 7:10). Thus the idea is partially moralized. Temperance is the true Greek attitude; humility, the true Hebrew spirit. A similar moralization of the doctrine of divine infatuation appears. At first it is presented in a bald form. God wishes to punish; He incites to sin and then punishes it. The most notable instance in Hebrew literature is the Davidic census (compare Chronicles); another is Rehoboam (1 Ki. 12:15). Æschylus has this line, "God plants guilt among men when He desires utterly to destroy a house." A higher form is found in the view that God urges a sinner on in his career that his fall may be more rapid and sure. Thus Isaiah's preaching only makes the people's heart fat (Isa. 6:9, 10, etc.). The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart. Xerxes was divinely helped to his ruin because of his insolence. The ruin of both men was also providentially determined in the interests of the particular nation exposed to the insolence. So Æschylus says: "When a man is hasting to his ruin, the god helps him on." Divine jealousy and wrath play into each other, the one roused against human achievement, the other against pride and sin. Calamities to individuals or communities, such as disease or earthquakes, drought, etc., are by both Greek and

Hebrew assigned to God's anger. Yet the best thinkers in both peoples rose above this view to the essential goodness of God. Plato and Aristotle assert it. "God is good and the good can never have any jealousy of anything. And being free from jealousy, he desired that all things should be as like himself as they could be." "The wicked are miserable because they require to be punished . . . that God, being good, is the author of evil to anyone is to be strenuously denied." (Plato, *Rep.*). Ezekiel for the Jews laid down the doctrine that God's pleasure was not in the death of the wicked but in his repentance and amendment.

(2) Neither Jew nor Greek adequately recognized religious individualism. The solidarity of family and race was a cardinal doctrine of both Greek and Hebrew, as their literatures abundantly testify. The Greek thought even accidental and temporary association with sinners might prove fatal to the righteous. It needed the piety of an Abraham to obtain the pardon of Sodom even if but ten righteous men were there. Fathers' sins are visited on succeeding generations. Solon says: "Now he taketh vengeance straightway and again he tarrieth; but if they who do wrong escape . . . yet it cometh all the same hereafter; the guiltless pay for their deeds, their children and their seed after them." So in the Old Testament the same delay of punishment appears and it is even looked upon as a mercy of God thus to postpone it (cf. 2 Ki. 23:26; note the rejection of this doctrine in 2 Chron. 25:21, 22). A postponed punishment of communities and states appeared justifiable to ancient thinkers. Thus the captivity of Israel was on account of the guilt of preceding generations. Isocrates said that cities ought to practice deeds of virtue far more than private persons, for the latter may die before they pay the penalty for their sins, but cities do not die and hence are liable to punishment in future ages. Yet the doctrine is attacked as early as Theognis and modified to teach that the descendants of a wicked ancestor inherit the tendency to sin which if fostered produces guilt. Ezekiel attacked it in Israel and the truth began to be emphasized in both nations that the individual, whether small or great, will receive the reward of his deeds, whether good or bad.

(3) Neither Greek nor Hebrew had highly developed notions of good and evil. Each identified outward adversity with divine punishment. Calamity meant (a) sin, (b) punishment. God takes retribution upon the bad and rewards the good. His measure of return is just and proportionate, "tit for tat." Æschylus says: "For words of hatred, let hatred be the recompense, and for each deathful stroke, let the striker be struck to death. That he who does must suffer is the utterance of an immemorial saying." Neither Greek nor Hebrew ever made a direct attack on this elemental principle of justice, but in the face of calamity falling on the good and prosperity blessing the bad, some explanation must be found. In the search for an explanation appeared the higher moral conceptions. (a) Outward suffering was regarded as disciplinary. Thus in Plutarch and the Proverbs the punishment of children

for paternal sin is transformed into correction of inherited tendencies. The problem of Job's suffering is approached from this side by Eliphaz and Elihu. Plato goes deeper and explains the prosperity of the wicked as a real calamity. "The doer of unjust actions is miserable in any case—more miserable, however, if he be not punished and does not meet with retribution, and less miserable if he be punished and meets with retribution at the hands of God and men." The righteous man is not petted by God, says Seneca, he is tried, hardened, and thus fitted for God. (*b*) Neither outward prosperity nor adversity are the most important things of life: the only real good is moral, spiritual, religious; the sorest evil is ignorance, sin, separation from God. Greece develops this more fully than Israel. In Proverbs the praise of "Wisdom" is above rubies, and in Psalms 36 and 73 God is proclaimed as the supreme good—but these passages are about all. But Plato presents them fully and adequately in his *Phaedo* and *Gorgias*. "It is a greater evil to do than to suffer injustice." "No evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death." Yet when these facts are established, rewards of outward prosperity and punishments of adversity are admitted, since rewards are the consequence not the stimulus of virtue, and punishment is not inflicted for the glory of God, but for purification or warning. The Stoics went further and declared that on the rack the philosopher might be happy. (*c*) Another palliative lies in the view that evil is the shadow of good, scarcely more real, yet as inevitable. There can be no good if there be no evil. Or, you must consider evil from the point of view of the whole. This appears among the Stoics. This is the meaning of God's questions hurled at Job. Explain the whole and you will understand the parts. This is a higher and truer theory of solidarity and allows room for resignation and self-sacrifice. All contribute, some purposely, some unconsciously, some with good ends, others with evil purposes, working together to make up the universe. It was the Hebrew who reached the highest point of self-sacrifice here, in the conceptions of Isaiah 53 of him who poured out his soul unto death for the sake of others, that they might find their ultimate peace through his sacrificial sufferings—a conception which "has sunk deep into the heart of the human race." (*d*) Another form of the preceding view is that sin and evil are inseparable from free will. This is an ancient Greek view taken up by modern theology. "Remove the freedom," said Simplicius in 520 A.D., "and with it you destroy the possibility of virtue."

(4) The Greek and Hebrew had inadequate ideas of human progress in this life and in the life to come. The Hebrew indeed had his ideal of future Israel on which his indomitable optimism depended, at first apart from a hope in immortality, after the Maccabean age, in connection with the belief in resurrection. It differed from modern ideas in being restricted to Jews and in the miraculous method of its advent and its finality. It is a stimulative doctrine. The Greeks did not have even this. The absence of hope and of an ideal of progress characterizes them. Plato seems never to have expected that his

ideal Republic would be realized. Epochs of universal ruin followed by restoration of similar conditions was all that these thinkers could see. Immortality was held earlier in Greece than in Israel and its influence on the doctrine of divine providence was similar in both nations. Calamities are less trying. Compensation will be made in the other life. The wicked will be punished. Both Plato and the Psalmists emphasize this. Plato developed the doctrine of metempsychosis, which enhanced the horror of evil though it merely prolonged the problem to be solved. Immortality to him is also educational. In the other life the wicked are purified, the wise become wiser, the good better. This is an approach toward the modern doctrine of heaven.

Thus the progress and purification of old and unsatisfactory views of these fundamental questions went on among Greeks and Hebrews. Neither sounded the problem to its depth and both were too often content with inadequate explanations. The Hebrew stuck too closely to the mere disparity between prosperity and desert. The Greek taught that outward adversity might be a means of ethical progress, without seeing that often it stunted or crushed the possibility of growth. The problem is immensely wider in these days, *e. g.*, the question of the suffering of animals enters into the indictment against divine justice. The Greek solutions were in some respects farther advanced than the Hebrew. The latter clung to the law of reward and retribution, but the Greek modified it. The problem has not been solved; if it be solved, where is the need of faith—faith which is surely one of the most glorious of the varied capacities and endowments of man?

A most illuminating study in comparative theology. Research along similar lines would be exceedingly serviceable for divinity students, giving them breadth of knowledge, independence of judgment, and reverence for human nature and for divine revelation, to a degree unattained in the accepted subjects of investigation which are confined to one field—even though that be the supreme level of Christian theological thought.

G. S. G.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JESUS CHRIST ACCORDING TO ST. PAUL. Inaugural Address of EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL, D.D., Professor of Graeco-Roman and Eastern Church History in the Hartford Theological Seminary, in the *Hartford Seminary Record*, June and August, 1894.

The current belief that Paul knew few of the details of the earthly career of Jesus is an unwarranted and hasty inference from the apostle's statements. Paul certainly had a knowledge of Christ's death and resurrection—the greatest facts in His life. Did he not really know the man Christ Jesus?

Before answering this question we must seek answers to some prior questions: (1) Who was St. Paul? (2) What are our sources of information

concerning him, and how far are they trustworthy? (3) What opportunity did he have of knowing Jesus of Nazareth, and what constitutes knowledge of the life and character of an historical personage?

Five theses may be laid down: (1) We have trustworthy and full information concerning the life and character of St. Paul. (2) This documentary evidence proves St. Paul to be a competent witness concerning the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth. (3) St. Paul's portrayal of the life and character of Jesus is clear and remarkably full. (4) The Christ of St. Paul is essentially the Christ of the four Gospels. (5) St. Paul's epistles accordingly furnish us an entirely independent and a complete documentary proof of the historicity of the personal life of the Christ of the evangelists.

The method of the investigation is historical rather than exegetical—the study of historical documents. Conclusions are to be drawn, not from a few passages, but from the whole Pauline literature except the pastoral epistles, and cannot be vitiated by proof that any passage is an interpolation. Every utterance of Paul concerning Jesus presupposes a well-grounded knowledge of Him and His person. Taken all together his utterances and allusions give us the representation of Christ.

The dates of the composition of these epistles can be determined from the documents themselves. (1) The *terminus ad quem* of the epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans is evidently 69 A. D., because [*a*] the primitive church at Jerusalem is still flourishing; [*b*] the Jewish people of the Dispersion still enjoy their political privileges, which began to be lessened about 66 A. D.; [*c*] the epistles presuppose the conflict of Christianity with Judaism, and Gentile with Judaistic Christianity. (2) The earlier of these epistles, those to the Thessalonians, were written at least as early as 54, and the latest, Philemon and Philippians, before 64–5. These results may be gained by a study of the development indicated by the various epistles themselves, and the references made in them to the facts of Paul's life. Thus the latest epistle was written within thirty-five and the earliest within twenty-five years after the crucifixion.

These documents also tell us much concerning their author. (1) He was a Hebrew by birth and a strict Pharisee. (2) He was originally and notoriously hostile to Christianity, and had conducted persecutions in Judea—which is equivalent to Jerusalem. (3) He was converted to Christianity by an indisputable revelation of the risen Jesus, that was at once without and within him, and with this revelation came the knowledge that Jesus was the Messiah. This revelation was made, probably, in the region of Damascus. Three years later he went to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of Peter, and there it is inconceivable he should not have learned some of the details of Christ's life. For the next eleven years he was in Syria and Cilicia, and at the end of that period he visited Jerusalem again, where he received no new conception of the gospel. This second visit was made before St. Paul set out on his first missionary journey. Therefore, still using data in the epistles, allowing that

six years elapsed between this visit to Jerusalem and the letter to the Thessalonians, we find the apostle was converted within three or four years of Christ's crucifixion. Now during these years, filled probably with persecution, St. Paul must have learned much concerning Jesus. (4) From the epistles we are able to make a comparatively full outline of the apostle's missionary journeys until he is imprisoned at Rome. We further learn that he preached the gospel of Christ as the power of God unto salvation to both Jews and Gentiles. And, finally, these epistles give us many personal hints, especially in regard to his mode of thought and his intense zeal for the gospel. Above all they show that he made God in Christ the central article of his faith.

This leads to the further question: What were the chief elements in St. Paul's conception of God? [a] St. Paul conceived of God as the Father, in a unique sense, of Jesus Christ. [b] God is also the Father of those who accept the Son. [c] God is also the Father of the race. [d] God is always assumed as the creator of the material world, but no cosmogony is given. [e] Jesus, through his death and resurrection, demonstrated the love of God for his sinful children. Christ is therefore to the apostle no more imaginary than God himself. The Jesus he saw near Damascus was the Jesus of Peter and the other disciples.

To summarize: we know St. Paul better than we know any of the other disciples of Jesus. We further know that St. Paul never doubted that he preached the same Christ whom Peter and the twelve preached. And further, it may be affirmed that St. Paul knew Jesus perfectly—knew his mind, his heart, his disposition. To suppose that St. Paul originated the Christ he preached is to impugn his devotion to truth. Therefore we may reaffirm the five original theses.

Professor Mitchell has given an admirable illustration of the purely historical method of dealing with the Pauline documents. His examination of the epistles, unbiased by the attempt to harmonize their contents with the account in Acts, gives us a positive historical basis for the study of that work. It appears, however, that in the author's summary of the conclusions to be drawn from his criticism, affirmations are made which must certainly be based on evidence not adduced in the address before us. The main question, "What did St. Paul know about the man Christ Jesus?" can be answered finally, not by arguments as to what must have been, but by the positive presentation of facts and allusions. Pfeiderer [*Paulinism*, I., p. 1, Eng. trans.] states a position that is at least not untenable: "The teaching of Paul regarding Christ is not founded on an historical knowledge of the details of Christ's life," and [*Ibid.*, p. 125] we can expect to find in Paul's Christological teaching only "*a free Christian speculation regarding the contents of the Christian consciousness.*" In opposition to this extreme view, Professor Mitchell has certainly established a presumption that Paul could not have failed to know the facts of Christ's life. From a note appended to the address we are led to hope that the establishment of this presumption, which was the natural office of this Introduction, is to be followed by a positive "portrayal of the Life and Character of Jesus Christ according to St. Paul." In this portrayal it is to

be expected that Professor Mitchell will distinguish sharply between the "essential" Christ and "the concrete conception which filled the apostle's mind when he looked up into the face of Jesus Christ."

S. M.

MODERN BETHLEHEM [*Das jetsige Bethlehem*]. By P. PALMER, in Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins. Band XVII., Heft 2.

Bethlehem is two hours from Jerusalem, on the road to Hebron, and is built on two considerable hills, one of which reaches an elevation of 825-830 metres. These hills, with their intervening valleys, give the town something of the appearance of an amphitheatre. The town itself is about 1,000 metres long by 500 wide, and is situated in the midst of an exceedingly fruitful region, in which olives, figs, grapes, and almonds have been until recently considerably cultivated.

The more modern part of the town is well built, but the older portions consist of mere huts, many of them quite ready to fall to pieces. The chief street, which runs from the northern gate to the Church of the Nativity in the southern part of the town, is partly paved, but the other streets are mostly narrow and practically impassable in the rainy season.

Bethlehem has 8,035 inhabitants, classified as follows: Roman Catholics, 3,827; Greeks, 3,662; Mohammedans, 260; Armenians, 185; Protestants, 54; Copts and Syrians, 47. There are few immigrants. For twenty years not a single new family has settled in the town. Jews are not allowed to live within the gates, but there are a few English and German families.

Besides agriculture, the chief occupation of the inhabitants is the manufacture of pictures of the saints, rosaries, and ornaments from mother-of-pearl. They also make drinking cups from the stones found on the shores of the Dead Sea. The number of establishments engaged in such manufacture is about ninety. Many take these and other wares to foreign countries, especially to America, and in some cases have returned with a considerable property; but the great majority of the people are poor, because of the decay of the farming class, and heavy taxes.

The chief object of interest in the town is the Church of *St. Maria a Praesepio*, with the Chapel and Grotto of the Nativity, and three monasteries, besides the so-called Milk Grotto or Grotto of the Mother of God. There are eleven other churches and religious institutions. The Christians and Mohammedans live in tolerable peace, but the Greek, Latin, and Armenian Christians are frequently at strife over their claims upon the Chapel of the Nativity.

Bethlehem is the headquarters of a Turkish *mudir* or sub-governor, who maintains an establishment consisting of four policemen and twenty-five infantry soldiers. The numbers of the latter are considerably increased at Christmas in order to maintain order during the feast. The town itself is divided into eight sections, and is ruled by fourteen magistrates.

Attempts have been made to make Bethlehem the market town for the tribes living south of the Dead Sea. It has good water, and a large market-place, and is visited by great numbers of foreigners and pilgrims. But despite these advantages and attempts, Bethlehem seems to prefer to remain what it has been for centuries—a crowded, dirty village.

This article gains value from having been written by a citizen of Jerusalem who has had the opportunity to make personal investigations in the town. The author has done good service in furnishing us with facts that are not generally deemed important by mere visitors to the Holy Land.

S. M.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED
LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

The monthly assignment of reading for the year is given below. There may be slight variations from this, but such will be noticed in the Postal Bulletin of the month in which the variations occur.

October.

Seidel—*In the Times of Jesus*, pp. 1-93.

Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 1-138.

BIBLICAL WORLD (July) Geography of Palestine.

(August) Editorials and Geography of Palestine.

November.

Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 93-192.

Seidel—*In the Times of Jesus*, pp. 138-295.

BIBLICAL WORLD (September, October) Editorials.

Geography of Palestine.

December.

Harmony—Parts I., II., III.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 1-149.

BIBLICAL WORLD (November, December) Geography of Palestine.

Introduction to Gospels, I.

January.

Harmony—Parts IV. and V.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 149-298.

BIBLICAL WORLD (January) Introduction to Gospels, II.

Teachings of Jesus, I.

February.

Harmony—Part VI., and Chapter XXV. of Part VII.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 299-402.

BIBLICAL WORLD (February) Introduction to Gospels, III.

Teachings of Jesus, II.

March.

Harmony—Part VII., from Chapter XXVI.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 403-491.

BIBLICAL WORLD (March) Introduction to Gospels, IV.

Teachings of Jesus, III.

April.

Harmony—Part VIII.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 493-776.

BIBLICAL WORLD (April) Teachings of Jesus, IV.

May.

Harmony—Part IX.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 777-861.

BIBLICAL WORLD (May) Teachings of Jesus, V.

Bushnell—*Character of Jesus*.

June.

Brooks—*Influence of Jesus*.

BIBLICAL WORLD (June) Teachings of Jesus, VI.

Local Chapters—Wherever possible local chapters of the Guild should be formed. These may be in connection with churches, Sunday-school teachers' meetings, or, better, independent of any organization. If only two persons can be found ready to commence the course let them read and meet at regular intervals to discuss their work.

Chapters may meet weekly, but in most places a fortnightly meeting will be more practicable. The organization of a Chapter should be as simple as possible. Only two officers, a president and a secretary, are desirable, and of these only the second is required, in order that he may be the medium of communication between the Chapter and the office of the Institute. It is well to put the preparation of the programmes for meetings, and the general direction of the reading of a Chapter in the hands of an executive committee, who shall serve not less than two months. If a good committee is secured a year is not too long for such an appointment, in order that unity may be given to the work.

For the benefit of those Chapters which are not fully organized and for those who prefer not to prepare their own programmes for October, the following topics are suggested. Care should be taken to select such subjects as will make a complete and rounded programme, that is, touching every side of the subject. Not more than five subjects and a map drill should be upon any one programme.

1. Methods of calculating the time in which Christ lived.
2. The Roman Empire as an agent in the propagation of Christianity.
3. The Religious Condition of Heathendom at the Advent of Christ.
4. Skepticism, Epicureanism, Stoicism—the Roman substitutes for a decaying religion.
5. The home and home life of the Gentile.
6. The public life of the Gentile.
7. Reading from Ben Hur (to be selected).
8. Judea—situation—places of interest—the life of its people.
9. Samaria (ditto).
10. Galilee (ditto).
11. Character and work of Herod the Great.
12. The Roman procurators in Palestine.
13. Herod Antipas in his relation to Jesus and John the Baptist.
14. The relations of Jews and Gentiles in the land.

15. A week's Journey in Palestine (imaginary sketch).
16. Taxes and customs.
17. Jerusalem, the Holy City.
18. An ancient Jewish town.
19. Jewish family life.
20. Maxims from the Book of Proverbs concerning the training of children.
21. The Jewish mother.
22. The education of a Jewish child.
23. Subjects of study in the Jewish schools.
24. Literary work among the Jews.
25. The Jewish school system.
26. Map study. The situation of Palestine with relation to the ancient world.
27. The climatic divisions of Palestine.
28. The effect of the geographical peculiarities of the land of Palestine upon the lives of the people inhabiting its different parts.

Additional Reading.—For the benefit of those who would like to do additional reading, reference to the following books will be found helpful :

Ewald—*History of Israel*, Vol. VI.

Stanley—*Lectures on the Jewish Church*, Third Series.

Edersheim—*The Temple and its Ministry*.

Thomson—*The Land and the Book*.

Stanley—*Sinai and Palestine*.

Merrill—*Galilee in the Time of Christ*.

Smith—*Dictionary of the Bible*.

A relief map of Palestine which gives the configuration of the land will throw much light on the life of the people. Such a one is published by F. J. Burgi & Co., Rochester, N. Y.

A person of some ingenuity can manufacture a map of this character from paper pulp, formed by mixing a little glue with newspaper which has been soaked in water several hours. The pulp is then perfectly pliable, and may be spread flat upon a board. The mountains, valleys, rivers, and plains can easily be modeled by a deft use of the fingers, and the towns may be indicated in ink. A careful study of the illustrations and descriptions in Professor Riggs' articles in the BIBLICAL WORLD will provide the necessary data for this map.

Chapter rates for books.—Although the prices of the books have already been placed much below that of the publishers, a still further reduction will be made to Chapters ordering all the books at once. Five or more sets of books, including the BIBLICAL WORLD, will be sent to one address for *seven dollars* each, and for *five dollars and fifty cents* each without the BIBLICAL WORLD.

Already it has been discovered that many desire to become members of the Guild, who cannot afford to buy the books. Should any such come to the

notice of our members, would it not be wise to suggest to them that the Sunday School Library might, with good results, be requested to place one or more sets upon its shelves. Also, in any town of sufficient size to support a public library, the librarian will probably be glad to receive so well selected a list for addition to the library.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

The work of the Institute is increasing to such an extent that it has become necessary to appoint a field secretary. Rev. Herbert L. Willett has been chosen for this work. He will devote much of his time to traveling about the country, organizing clubs and chapters, arranging for Institutes, Lecture Courses, and awakening an interest in Bible Study in all its phases, both scholarly and popular. Mr. Willett is himself a biblical specialist, having received his training in this subject in Yale, and at the University of Chicago.

A special feature of the work for the coming year will be the award of the *College Prizes* in Hebrew, New Testament Greek, and the English Bible, for the best examinations on these subjects, from an undergraduate student. A first prize of one hundred dollars, and a second prize of fifty dollars will be offered in each subject. The prizes in Hebrew are offered by the Sinai Congregation of Chicago. In New Testament Greek they will be awarded by Mr. J. G. Batterson of Hartford, Conn. The name of the person who will offer the prizes in the English Bible cannot yet be announced. A special circular giving necessary instructions to those who wish to prepare for the examinations will be sent to all colleges.

The financial support of the Institute has seldom been alluded to in these pages. It may be of interest to some however to know that its income from fees is inadequate for even the most necessary expenses. In addition, it is advisable to expend large sums in introducing the work in new fields. Each year good friends of the cause have, by their subscriptions, assumed something of the financial responsibility.

Increasing success only brings greater expenses, and more frequent calls for an enlargement of the work. Ten thousand dollars should be used in the extension and propagation of the courses this year. A subscription list is now in circulation among the special friends of the Institute.

It is possible that there are others whose names are unknown to us who yet have a great interest in the work. Subscriptions of large or small amounts from such will be as helpful and as welcome as from any other source. Such subscriptions should be sent to the Principal of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill.

An endowment list containing the names of all who have subscribed to this amount will be published from time to time.

The formation of Bible Study Unions in large cities is a step which the Institute will be able to take in the near future. The object of such a local

ganization will be to band together the Bible clubs, members of the Guild, and all others working under the direction of the Institute, in order that by uniting their resources, they may secure each year a good lecture course upon a Biblical subject which shall be mutually agreed upon.

No other organization for Christian work has laid so much stress upon the value of Bible Study, has had so many and so large Bible classes, has considered it so vital a part of their work as the Y. M. C. A.

It is safe to say, however, that most of this work has been governed by the idea of *immediate* use in evangelistic work. The fact that the Bible should be studied for the sake of personal growth and grasp of truth in Christian living, has not been sufficiently emphasized. It has therefore been especially difficult to persuade the members of Young Men's Christian Associations to take up Institute courses. At last the Association in Brooklyn, N. Y., leads the way with several clubs in the Central Association and the prospect of others in branch associations.

On the other hand, the Young *Womans'* Christian Association have unhesitatingly accepted the guidance of the Institute in their Biblical work for the coming year. They will publish in their organ, the *Evangel*, a series of studies provided by the Institute, and will everywhere at conventions and in official correspondence recommend the Institute Outline Bible Club Course for Christian organizations.

The Christian Endeavor Society, as an organization, has many times indorsed the Institute Club Course, but certain unions also have taken special action upon the question. These are, up to date, the State Unions of Michigan and Illinois, the State Union connected with the Friends' denomination in Iowa, and three Colonial Unions in Australia.

Book Reviews.

Apologetics, or Christianity Defensively Stated. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow; Author of "The Training of the Twelve," "The Humiliation of Christ," "The Kingdom of God," etc. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892. Pp. xvi, 514. (International Theological Library.)

This volume of apologetics is unique, not only in that it contains no systematic treatment of such matters as the Existence of God, Inspiration, Miracles, but also from the fact that it is an attempt at rewriting apologetics with special reference to recent criticism. Its aim is not to present a completely rounded discussion of religious difficulties and their answers, but rather to make "an apologetic presentation of the Christian faith with reference to whatever in our intellectual environment makes faith difficult at the present time." It therefore deals with "burning questions," giving no or little attention to "subjects which formerly occupied the foreground in apologetic treatises."

After an Introduction, in which the tendencies of modern free thought are shown, and the sphere of apologetics is defined in a somewhat pedagogic fashion, Professor Bruce considers in some detail (Book I.) Christian and Anti-Christian Theories of the Universe. His method in this presentation is in itself strategic. The Christian facts as they centre about Jesus are first considered, and not until these are clearly expounded are the chief anti-Christian theories—pantheism, materialism, deism—considered. The discussion of these various philosophical explanations of the universe is of necessity rapid, but on the whole is fair and in good perspective. The exposition and criticism of materialism is especially good, the distinction between science proper and a materialism that attempts to monopolize the results of science being sharply drawn. It would be difficult to better the author's exposure of the purely dogmatic position of materialistic philosophy and the crudity of its ethics.

Naturally no discussion of religious theories would be complete that did not consider the two residual claimants of deism and materialism—speculative theism and agnosticism. The essential distinction between theism and deism lies in "that the former conceives of God's relation to the world as one of *immanence*, and the latter as one of *transcendence*."¹ While between the two, there can be no hesitation in choice, certain theists, like Theodore Parker, attempt to combine the two conceptions. The result is dangerously near pantheism. Parker seems to shrink at ascribing personality to God. Prayer,

¹ P. 134.

in any sense other than blessing, must be excluded. Such a theistic conception is satisfactory neither on the side of speculation nor on that of religion. At best it is in unstable equilibrium between pantheism and deism, and utterly incapable of satisfying the religious craving of mankind.

The agnostic position of modern philosophy is next considered. If this be established, the end has come to the Christian doctrine of God. At this point Professor Bruce puts the theistic argument upon what is doubtless its strongest ground. The Christian doctrine of God is a sort of hypothesis which all we know tends to verify. What then can be adduced in support of the hypothesis? Professor Bruce examines and rejects the cosmological, the teleological, and the ontological arguments for the existence of God as final, preferring to "abstain from all attempts at proving the divine existence, and, assuming as a *datum* that God is, to restrict inquiries to *what* He is";¹ in other words, to verify the hypothesis from what it is admitted may be known. Such verification is found in the accordance of the evolutionary teaching as to the development of man with Christ's teaching concerning the similarity between the divine and human natures; in the scientific position that force—power—is behind the universe, for this power may very well be that of a will.

Professor Bruce next considers [Book II.] the Historical Preparation for Christianity, which he finds above all in Jewish history. This naturally suggests a question as to the attitude of the apologist towards the prevalent critical views as to the authorship and dates of the various books of the Old Testament. The answer is at once conservative and unprejudiced. Because of the uncertain results thus far gained by criticism, the apologist must refuse to commit himself, avoiding carefully anything like dogmatism on either side. His position should certainly not be hostile to critical inquiry. Further, the apologist should begin with that point which critics of greatest authority regard as certain, *i. e.*, with the religion of the prophets, rather than with that of the law. In the former is to be found the prophets' own ideas of religion and of their nation.

It is in the development of this view of the religious position of the prophets, that Professor Bruce passes over into the discussion of some of the most vital of the difficulties suggested by modern criticism. His purpose is far less polemical than constructive. Jehovah's election of Israel, so clearly a postulate of prophecy, is after all not opposed to the modern view of ethnic religions, since the election of Israel was supplemented by a larger process of preparation among the Gentiles. "Some light even for pagans; heathenism nevertheless, on the whole, a failure; its very failure a preparation for receiving the true religion—such are the influences suggested by the method of election."² Mosaism, the first stage in the life of the elect people is historical, and the Decalogue must date from that stage. The question of the relation

¹ P. 158.² P. 207.

of the ritual to Moses, Professor Bruce disposes of in a rather summary fashion. "The hypothesis that the Deuteronomic and priestly codes are post-Mosaic, does not necessarily mean that their true authors *invented* their contents and imputed them to Moses. It only means that religious customs, mostly ancient, though in some particulars new, were then reduced to written form and ascribed to Moses, not so much as author, but rather as authority."¹ In a footnote he more explicitly defines his position as follows: "I find it difficult to believe that Moses was the author of the elaborate system of ritual in the middle books of the Pentateuch."² Moses was rather a prophet than a "person of priestly spirit," essentially in harmony with the prophets of later days in their elevation of morality above ritual, in their passion for righteousness, and in their unique grasp of the difficulties and grandeur incident to a belief in a divine government of the world.

It is somewhat disappointing that Professor Bruce does not here develop fully the apologetic bearing of such a position. Just at present this is a vital question for many Christians. They do not fear the results of criticism, they simply are searching for the common ground on which their belief in both inspiration and redaction may rest. Such discussion as he does give is introduced later in the chapter upon Old Testament Literature, and may be stated thus: the Old Testament is a record of revelation, not itself revelation. This fact it is that gives its peculiar value to the Old Testament literature; it has grown up "around a historical revelation of God in Israel."³ While this involves perfection and infallibility, it does not involve verbal infallibility, or absolute accuracy in particular statements. It is enough if the general impression made by the history of God's dealings with Israel as a peculiar and elect people be correct. It is upon this general position that Professor Bruce bases his consideration of how the religious value of the Old Testament is affected by criticism. The matter is resolved into two questions: assuming the correctness of these views, what value have the writings for men ignorant of the results of criticism; and, second, what for those who accept such results? The answer given the first of these questions can very well be forestalled. The unlearned reader will lose something through his ignorance of criticism, but the religious impression he gets from his reading is true. "The difference between him and the critic is this: the critic says the law grew out of Mosaism, the plain man says the law was given by Moses."⁴ The incorrect view of "the plain man" must be removed by the popularization of the results of critical study. The answer to the second question is not quite so near at hand. Professor Bruce is ready to admit "a crude morality" in the Hebrew editors. They "mix up things old and new, ancient laws with recent additions; report the sayings of the wise, with editorial comments not distinguished as such,"⁵ etc. And yet "God may inspire men who commit what we deem literary sins, for books of the Bible in which their so-called literary sins are committed

¹ P. 221.² P. 222 n.³ P. 302.⁴ P. 307.⁵ P. 309.

bear all the marks of inspiration—the divine in us bearing witness to the divine in them.”¹ The test of canonicity is similar. It is a book’s “*organic function*,” that is, its fitness to serve some peculiar purpose in the literature of revelation.

It may appear that Professor Bruce here has given over his case to the enemies of a theory of inspiration in any sense the successor of that of most symbols. But such an impression is certainly illegitimate. The position taken by Professor Bruce is practically the core of all theories of inspiration, and would remain intact if even more radical critical views should prevail than now seems possible. The severest criticism that can fairly be made of the author’s treatment, is its silence in regard to the mass of testimony from recent discoveries tending to strengthen confidence in the historical accuracy of the Old Testament. The fact is, that, since the question of inspiration is being taken out of the court of *a priori* philosophy into that of archæology and history, we may rightfully expect in an apologist a knowledge of the results of these sciences. It certainly seems as if a treatise on apologetics should not be content merely with establishing—be it never so admirably—a point of view.

In his treatment of the Christian Origins [Book III.] Professor Bruce enters upon a field in which he has long been a leader, and concerning which his views are well known. To him Jesus is an historical person “welcome for his own sake”—His history one not of inspired imagination but of memory, and He Himself known through and not apart from His history. His resurrection was physical, though mysterious. The conversion of Paul cannot be explained without recognizing in it the hand of God; but his writings are by no means the sole source of Christian doctrine, and his own influence has been exaggerated. Primitive Christianity contained from the start a germ of universalism and was by no means utterly Judaistic. In this respect Professor Bruce is opposed to Pfleiderer quite as much as to Baur.

Coming to the great critical questions of the New Testament, the interrelation of the Synoptical Gospels and the authenticity of John, Professor Bruce narrows the field of apologetics to that of historicity, and avoids, as far as possible, mere controversy. But controversy, as can be easily imagined, is here unavoidable. Pfleiderer and Baur in their tendency-theory have reduced the evangelists to mere special pleaders not altogether scrupulous in the handling of facts, and the apologist is forced to combat their arguments. Professor Bruce’s method here does not differ materially from that of most champions of the historicity of the New Testament, but it gains new power from its substantiation of the presuppositions and first impressions with which the investigation began.

In dealing with the Fourth Gospel Professor Bruce manifests a most commendable frankness. He acknowledges that it “presents the hardest

¹ P. 310.

apologetic problem connected with the origin of Christianity,"¹ and he admirably distinguishes the vital part of the problem: is the Christ of John the Jesus of the Synoptists? Here again the chief interest in the author lies not so much in the presentation of positive evidence as in establishing the proper view-point and attitude of the apologist towards critical questions. Granted that there are differences, even discrepancies, between the Fourth Gospel and those of the Synoptists, how far do "the alleged phenomena affect the religious value of the Fourth Gospel as a source for the knowledge of Christ. . . . Can we say that this Gospel as a whole, in its general drift and tendency, is indeed true to the spirit of Jesus, as we have become acquainted with it by aid of the first three Gospels?" The answer that Professor Bruce gives to these questions is not unqualified. Certain differences in presentation certainly do present themselves, but they are not sufficient to weaken the respect and confidence due the Fourth Gospel. They are the necessary attendants of the character of the Gospel as supplementary to the three Synoptic Gospels. Christ is the sum of the four, and through them is He seen to be the Lord of all, and Christianity the absolute religion.

It is obviously impossible to reproduce the entire argument of a profound work like this of Professor Bruce. Only a careful study can show the singular accuracy and grasp of thought that mark every page. One is impressed constantly by the spirit of fairness and the determination to discover truth. Perhaps as a result of this impartiality the work has not proved satisfactory to all shades of religious thinkers. The conservative may very likely be disappointed at any readiness to give weight to the conclusions of criticism, and the followers of Wellhausen or Pfleiderer may very well be troubled over the vigorous treatment accorded their masters. But nevertheless the work is the natural outcome of an age of transition, and will be exceedingly helpful to the man who has accepted few or many of the results of criticism, but is yet anxious to maintain his faith in the supernatural, and above all in an immanent and self-revealing God. To others it will at least bring the assurance that truth has nothing to fear from criticism, and the conviction that the Christian religion has no need of any support that is not true.

S. M.

From Malachi to Matthew. Outlines of the History of Judea from 4404–B. C. By R. WADDY MOSS, Tutor in Classics, Didsbury College. London: Charles H. Kelly, 2 Castle Street, City Rd., E. C. Pp. xiv., 256.

This little handbook attempts "to do nothing more than outline the history of Judea in the centuries that elapsed between the prophecy of Malachi and the event that forms the first theme of the New Testament."

The author has rigidly kept to this aim, refusing to be led off into details, and, on the whole, has maintained a very good historical perspective. The

¹ P. 466.

treatment of the confused days of the later Maccabees is especially successful.

There is undoubtedly need of some such work as this. Few, even among intelligent students of the New Testament, are acquainted with the events of the fierce epoch that gave birth to so much of the Messianic hope of the time of Jesus. The large works are too tedious, and there are few smaller works that cover the period in sufficient detail for the popular taste. The present work avoids the two dangers, and is at once scholarly and interesting. It possesses the further merit of an arrangement that is chronological rather than topical.

It is at least questionable whether the book does not lose somewhat in usefulness from its failure to give references to the literature on the period. For careful students, at least, this is a distinct loss. Apart from this, however, the book is to be recommended to those who do not care to use the larger works of Grätz and Schürer.

S. M.

The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans. By the late BENJAMIN JOWETT, M.A. Third edition, edited and condensed by LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D. Vol. I., Translation and Notes; Vol. II., Essays and Discussions. London: John Murray.

The first edition of Jowett's Commentary was published in 1855, and aroused a storm of indignant protest. Its free handling of Paul's eschatological views, and its position—at that time advanced—upon the whole matter of interpretation, gave great offense to many English scholars. The second edition published in 1859 did not greatly mend matters and was long ago out of print, for the busy life of its author forbade further revision. The present edition is, however, published with his assent, and, to a certain degree, with his coöperation.

The editor states that he has not changed "a single line" of the work. His office has been (1) to substitute a more recent text for that of Lachmann which Professor Jowett originally used; and (2) to make certain omissions and new arrangement. It is worth notice that the omission of certain characteristic outbursts of the author against a "crude phrase of contemporary theology," and the *excursus* on the *Conversion of St. Paul*, have been omitted by Professor Jowett's own decision.

The value of these commentaries, apart from the somewhat unusual insight possessed by a scholar of Jowett's type, lies not so much in the introduction, and in exegesis, as in the various discussions on subjects connected with the text. Thus, in his introduction to the Galatian Epistle, Professor Jowett settles in a single sentence the location of Galatia, but adds a striking essay upon the *Character of St. Paul* and another on the *Quotations from the Old Testament in the Writings of St. Paul*. The exegetical purpose of the first volume is, in fact, quite subordinate to the critical and theological.

Most of the essays of the second volume are also suggested by the Epistles interpreted, but are more general in character. Probably the most valuable among them is that on *The Interpretation of Scripture*, which is full of the scholar's contempt for allegorizing and dogmatic methods of interpretation, and of demands that the Scripture be interpreted "like any other book."

Altogether the two volumes contain much that a generation of readers and students has declared to be of permanent value. Now that exegetical methods have in a fashion overtaken Professor Jowett, we may perhaps feel a little less sharply the force of some of his criticisms; but none the less are the essays stimulating reading. They cannot fail to make even more self-evident the need of a critical and historical background for all exegesis.

It seems a pity that the editor should not have seen fit to print the Greek text; and astonishing that two such handsome and otherwise admirably made volumes should lack an index.

S. M.

Christianity and Evolution. By JAMES IVERACH, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Exegesis of the Gospels in the Free Church College, Aberdeen. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Pp. viii., 232.

Evolution in Religion. By WILLIAM W. McLANE, PH.D., D.D. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society. Pp. 266.

These two works illustrate the progress Christian thought has made since the days—not so far distant—when evolution and religion were thought to be deadly enemies. The plans of both are somewhat similar, except that the view-point of *Christianity and Evolution* is rather more of formal comparison, while that of *Evolution in Religion* is more apologetic. Both agree in the incompleteness of Herbert Spencer's derivation of religion, both alike regard the Christian character as itself capable of evolution, and both also maintain the possibility of substantiating, through the teachings and assumptions of science, the Christian teachings of God and immortality. The work of Professor Iverach is especially valuable from its wide use of literature and its clear and simple style. No one can fail to be benefited by the study for which these works are fitted to serve as introductions.

S. M.

Church Work, its Means and Methods. By THE RIGHT REV. J. MOORHOUSE, Bishop of Manchester. London: Macmillan & Co., 1894. Price \$1.25.

Bishop Moorhouse has embodied in this volume the series of addresses which he delivered to the clergy of his diocese upon the occasion of a late general visitation. The addresses are full of practical advice, and deal almost wholly with parochial questions and difficulties which suggested themselves during his visitation. He gives advice on preaching, catechizing, Institutes,

Sunday Schools, etc., and does not fail to touch on some of the pressing social questions of the day. The book is full of hints from a broad minded and practical man, and will be of great value to some, and may be of some profit to others even though out of sympathy with some of the Bishop's views.

C. E. W.

Bishop Lightfoot. Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review* with a prefatory note by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co., 1894. Price, \$1.25.

This sketch was published in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1893. It is a loving and reverent tribute from one who evidently knew the Bishop well, and deserves to be preserved in this graceful and attractive form. It is especially valuable for the picture of the later years of the life of this great and good man—the years which were spent in the active work of his bishopric. It thus shows him both as a man and as a student, though probably the first is the more prominent because it was the more impressive. The prefatory note, by Dr. Westcott, the life-long friend of Bishop Lightfoot, adds an interesting feature.

C. E. W.

The Christian Ministry. Its present claim and attraction, and other writings. By THEODORE C. PEASE, Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894. Price, \$1.25

This is a memorial volume of Professor Pease, who died when about to enter on his first course of lectures at Andover. The title of the volume is the subject of the inaugural address which he delivered on accepting the chair of Sacred Rhetoric in the Seminary. The volume is made up of this inaugural, some lectures on homiletics, sermons, a study of Dante's *Inferno*, and some scattering poems and hymns. It contains an introduction by Professor E. C. Smyth and a biographical sketch.

The book is a beautiful tribute offered to him whose usefulness and goodness it perpetuates by the publication of much of the best and maturest of his thinking.

C. E. W.

Current Literature.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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IN previous numbers of this journal we have emphasized the value of certain lines of study as preparatory to the study of the life and teaching of Jesus or as accompanying it. The foreshadowings and prophecies of the Christ in the Old Testament, the history of events, and, still more, the history of thought in Palestine in the days of Jesus, the structure of the Gospels themselves and their relations to one another—all these contribute to an understanding of Jesus and of his teaching. But the very saying of this implies that Jesus himself is the highest theme of biblical study. These other topics, large and important as they are, worthy as they might be of study for themselves, find their highest significance as means by which we may reach an understanding of the personality and teaching of Jesus. To exalt prophecy, history, and environment into the place of first importance, and thus to obscure the central figure of Jesus himself would be a mistake than which there could hardly be a more serious one in biblical study. All roads must lead to Rome; all biblical study must find its centre in Jesus Christ.

THIS is indeed no new discovery of our day. The thought is centuries old. Yet it has, we believe, been set in a new light, and received a fresh and powerful emphasis in our day. The modern study of the Bible which has emphasized the value of the subsidiary and contributory studies by insisting upon the

necessity of studying every portion of the Bible from the standpoint of the time in which it was produced has been led by this very study to a new perception of the unity of the Bible and the central position of Jesus Christ.

NEVER perhaps was it so clearly perceived as it is today that alike in the field of Christian apologetics and in that of biblical interpretation the central question is the question concerning Christ himself. The apologist has learned that outposts which once seemed absolutely essential may be surrendered not only without surrendering Christianity, but even with the effect of making more manifest its real impregnability. But this has only served to make more plain the fact that we cannot surrender Jesus Christ without surrendering everything. The interpreter has found it necessary to abandon many cherished interpretations, even of those which had formerly seemed to bind all the book to Christ. Yet when he has had time to recover from his first shock of surprise he has found, often if not always, that if historical study took away with one hand she has more than repaid with the other. If, for a moment, any book has seemed, by the interpretation which a study of history compelled us to give it, to lose all relation to Jesus, a broader historical study has presently made that relation more evident even than before. If once we thought that each prophet stood on the circumference of a circle and turned his eyes full on the Christ at the centre, while now we have come to think rather of the ceaseless procession of the seers, each peering into the half-revealed future, and stirring the hearts of his contemporaries with the portrayal of the dim, but majestic figure of God's great Deliverer to come, a figure growing with each new seer more glorious and more distinct, yet never approaching in clearness or in glory the reality which appeared in the person of Jesus Christ—if we have thus modified our conception of the Messiah of the prophets, this has been by no means to surrender, but only to emphasize the fact that the spirit of prophecy is the testimony of Jesus. As apologetics finds in Jesus its central citadel, never surrendered, always impregnable, so interpretation finds in

him its highest goal. To him all Bible study rightly leads. In understanding him it attains its highest reward.

BUT it is not enough that Bible study lead to Jesus. For we never rightly understand him or his teachings until we penetrate to that central thought which finds expression alike in his character and in his teaching. A mastery of the details of the life of Jesus is good; a study of his teachings, severally and separately, is good. Indeed such study is indispensable as a step leading to the apprehension of the teaching and the person in their unity. The whole cannot be perceived as a whole till the parts have been seen as parts. To attempt to reverse this order would be to violate the natural and necessary order of acquiring knowledge. But to stop short with the parts would be to leave unattained the highest possibilities. It would be difficult to urge too strongly the necessity of knowing as thoroughly as may be the events of the life of Jesus, and of understanding his separate teachings. But it would be equally difficult to emphasize too strongly the wisdom of pressing on beyond this and trying to gain, if possible, a unified conception of Jesus himself, and an apprehension of the central principle of his teaching.

OBVIOUSLY this is a large task, one which must be prosecuted with patience and persistence. It is doubtless also one which must be approached by successive stages and from various points of view. One cannot pass at once from the details of the life of Jesus to sum up his character and teaching in one all-inclusive idea. But it is possible to hold before one's self as the goal of study the attaining of as perfectly unified and comprehensive a conception as possible of the character and teaching of Jesus, and to prosecute the whole work with this object in view. Having first gained a knowledge of the details of the life of Jesus so far as known to us, the student may seek to bring all this knowledge to bear upon some one aspect or phase of the character or teaching of Jesus; and then finally endeavor to unify the several results thus obtained in a comprehensive view of Jesus, the person and the teacher. Thus, to speak of the character of Jesus,

one may study his conduct as a personal friend, as a teacher, as a healer of disease, as a controversialist. Or, to speak of his teaching, one may take up such themes as Jesus' teaching concerning the Sabbath, concerning prayer, concerning the authority of law, seeking under each topic to gain a full view of our Lord's teaching and to unite the several elements, if it be possible, into a unified statement of Jesus' teaching on this topic. Still further, to unify these several results into a statement on the one hand of the central element of Christ's character, and on the other of the central principle of all his teaching is no slight problem. Yet students of the New Testament can hardly rest content till they have accomplished this also. Nor will they be content till they have perceived and defined the relation between the central principle of Christ's teaching and the central element of his character.

THIS is manifestly not the place to attempt to accomplish the task thus suggested. Far more space would be required than we have at our command. We venture, however, to raise the question whether, when we bring all these several lines of our study to a focus, the central principle of Christ's teaching and the central element of his character will not be found in the simple thought of the supremacy of truth, the authority of reality. When we study his conduct attentively, do we not discover that he is everywhere dominated by what may not inappropriately be called a *passion for reality*? When we examine his teachings, do we find anything more ultimate than this, his insistence that all teaching and all conduct must be consonant with the ultimate realities of things?

This was with him far more than a mere abhorrence of vulgar sham and shallow hypocrisy, it was a consuming love of truth, which refused to be content with any reason for usage or precept or institution which did not root itself in reality. There was no place for fasting among his disciples, because so long as he was with them it would stand for no reality, would be a mere form without significance. The pharisaic prohibition of murder is to him wholly inadequate, if not even worse than useless,

because it touches the mere surface of action, and wholly ignores the far deeper realities of the heart. His ultimate word respecting the Sabbath is, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." Deeper than this it is not possible to go. Is not even his reaffirmation of the Old Testament principle of love as the sum and substance of moral law based on the fact that this law of love is the central moral idea of the universe written in the constitution of things?

Has philosophy, ancient or modern, been able to discover a nobler or profounder principle of thought and action than this appeal to reality? Has ever philosopher or moralist so illustrated this principle in precept or in practice as it was illustrated in the teaching and life of Jesus?

THE COURSE OF THOUGHT IN ECCLESIASTES.

By PROFESSOR F. B. DENIO,
Bangor Theological Seminary.

Nothing satisfies in this life.—But God orders the affairs of man.—Only injustice and oppression rule in this world.—What are the things worth living for?—Duty done is the end of life.—Rise above your surroundings.—Genuine satisfaction is found only in fearing God and keeping his commandments.

In *The Old and New Testament Student*, vol. xiv., p. 98, is the statement that the Book of Ecclesiastes might well be called a picture of the soul of the Prodigal Son on his return to the Father. A sketch of the course of thought in the book is here given, which, it is thought, illustrates this quoted statement. We find here pictured the thoughts and moods which attend the reflections on life, its disappointments, mistakes, and real meaning.

Qoheleth begins, 1 : 2, by expressing the conviction that everything is wholly empty and unsatisfying, for, 1 : 4, existence itself is mere monotonous repetition, and, 1 : 8, in this repetition there is nothing but weariness, 1 : 9, there is nothing new or fresh. Let one gain wisdom, its possession and exercise bring only pain and sorrow, 1 : 13. Wealth and pleasure bring only the same monotonous iteration of pain, 2 : 1. If one were to gain preëminence by wisdom the benefit derived from it would perish at death, 2 : 12. The exercise of self-denial in gaining wealth is uncompensated pain, 2 : 18, hence, 2 : 24, it is better not to vex oneself with fruitless desires, but rather to accept the good things that God gives, and to remember that God gives these things to whom he pleases; in short, both the accumulation of wealth and the enjoyment of it are wholly by God's ordering. The thought of the divine ordering of life suggests the thought of the proper human ordering of life; there is a proper time for every form of human activity, 3 : 1, yet, 3 : 9, what is the profit when these seasons and their results are fixed

by God and cannot be changed by man? God has set it in the hearts of men to search him out, yet they cannot do it, 3 : 11. The quiet acceptance of the good things which God gives is best, 3 : 12, for, 3 : 14, God conducts the affairs of this world, and man may not change them. If one should be provoked to say, 3 : 16, that the iniquity in the places of dispensing justice indicates that God has no control of matters, Qoheleth says, 3 : 17, there is a time and place for him to judge all. God may delay his judgment, and the inability of man to discern his reasons causes him to seem no superior to the beasts, 3 : 18, hence, 3 : 22, it is better to accept the ordering of God, to enjoy his gifts, for the immediate future has little ground of hope, the remote future is unknown.

These thoughts stir within Qoheleth the mood of utter dissatisfaction with life. The thought of the oppressions of the rich and powerful is grievous, and it makes him feel yet more deeply the futility of human efforts, 4 : 1. Perhaps he had felt the blessed stirring of natural compassion and had tried to correct some of these evils. The injustice in the world around him would seem to prove that a man better never have been born, rather than to have come into a world so full of misery, so full of injustice and oppression, 4 : 2. Much of human effort is the result of rivalry only, and success brings only envy, 4 : 4. Better have little with no effort, than much with its attendant cares, 4 : 6. In spite of all these considerations, men seek after what they cannot use and cannot dispose of after death, 4 : 8. In this struggle after success, 4 : 9, how disadvantageous is it to strive alone! The solitary effort, how often it fails! Only think how foolish it is for even a king to rule without counsel! 4 : 13. Let that king be a youth, 4 : 15, who enters upon his reign in the midst of popular applause, yet how evanescent the enthusiasm! The thought of religion now comes as a possible comfort, but it needs to be genuine, and no makeshift, 5 : 1. If a man has done wrong, or omitted duty, let him be honest with God and himself, 5 : 3. Does one think that he may disregard God with impunity and justify himself in it by the remembrance of the perversion of justice by human rulers, let him remember that there is a judge

high above all human judges, and no act of injustice goes unnoticed by him, 5 : 8. The bad rulers suggest a ruler who is profitable to his people—one devoted to agriculture, for the really good things of this life are derived from the humble industry connected with the soil, 5 : 9. The fruit of such labor does not of itself give satisfaction to men, 5 : 10, and, 5 : 11, the man who makes them an end in themselves is sure to suffer as he learns their profitless nature; yet, 5 : 18, it is a good thing for a man to receive and enjoy the gifts of God, and an evil when he cannot; in fact, if he does not gain the satisfaction of this life it is better to have died at birth, 6 : 1. Contentment also is better than going through life with unsatisfied longings, 6 : 9.

At this point the author's mood deepens; if the things of this life kindle longings which must go unsatisfied, what is the good of them? Do we really live to any purpose after all? He thinks of some things really desirable. A good name, successful living are of supreme value, 7 : 1. This success may be secured by, 7 : 2, sorrow; 7 : 8, patience; 7 : 11, wisdom; and, 7 : 14, moderation in prosperity, for all these experiences or qualities will help in oppression, adversity, and prosperity. All these things have been proved by wisdom in the meditations of Qoheleth, and he has set himself to ascertain what is preëminently wicked, 7 : 23, and this suggests to him, 7 : 25, a snare by which men are often caught, by the wiles of a wicked woman, and by rebound he thinks again, 8 : 1, of the value of wisdom and of the fear of God in the day of oppression. Although sinners take encouragement from God's delay to punish them, yet, 8 : 12, Qoheleth knows that it will go well with those who do God's will, and it will go ill with those who do not. Again he would guard against attempting the impracticable, 8 : 14; it is well not to vex one's soul with striving after the impossible, rather one should enjoy the good things which God grants, and let alone the things which cannot be done. As God's ordering now is, the good and the skillful and the wise fare no better than those of opposite character, 9 : 1; indeed, the worse men fare the better. Qoheleth exhorts to enjoy life and the good things which God has given without anxiety about consequences, 9 : 7.

At this point, after half moodily, yet on the whole dispassionately, describing life as it appears to him, the writer really rises to the conception of duty. Do your duty, he says, 9:10, because it is all that you can do for this life, and for those whom you love, and in this, 9:13, remember always to use wisdom; you will receive no thanks for duty faithfully done, you will be lightly esteemed, when the need for your wisdom shall have passed you will be forgotten, suffer neglect; while if at any time you show a little folly, you will lose what esteem has been accorded to you, therefore, 10:3, avoid the part of a fool with his useless talk and aimless toil; if under a king, be discreet even though subjected to provocations to folly or anger, 10:4. Be not surprised in life to see the proper relations of men reversed, 10:6; if you would undertake great things, remember that there is danger, for the ventures of the adventurous are sure to pass the gateway of peril, 10:8.

Here is a decided break in the thought; after a few miscellaneous observations respecting the condition of a country under various types of kings, and the proper conduct toward them he urges the importance of rising superior to the untoward conditions of life, 10:16. Act boldly, 11:1, like the corn merchant, but do not trust all at one venture, and remember that the result of a venture is unchangeable: activity and caution are positively commended.

After all, when all shall have been said and done most wisely, and the sweet light has been enjoyed to the utmost, there are days coming which shall end it, 11:7. Youth may well enjoy the bounding pulses, the keen delight in mere existence, in all that sweetens the untasted cup of life; yet let him so live and enjoy that when the days of limitation and weakness come no sting shall remain, 11:9.

Qoheleth had pondered upon the mysteries of life and sought to state things so that they should stimulate man toward that which is better, 12:9; and his general conclusion is, 12:13, that the only thing which can leave a man satisfied is to fear God and keep his commandments.

In this tracing of thought we see Qoheleth beginning with

the conviction that, after all, the things in which he has made the happiness of his life to consist, are really husks, and that every attempt of the sort to gather satisfaction in life has the same result. We see one impulse rise after another, the vacillating moods and gradually developing purposes which finally develop into the writer's conclusion. From the profitless life which he has lived, now that he has arrived at the Father's house, he would warn the youth eager to taste the gratifications of this life to the full, by showing him what dregs there are in the cup. Thus the book indicates the sins, mistakes, and follies of the author, and it reveals his imperfect conception of the meaning of life, also those moral convictions which at last brought him to God. In this book are indications of the disordered state of society which was unfavorable to righteous conduct. This latest Old Testament utterance more than any other makes evident the need of a Redeemer.

THE FAULTS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS AS SHOWN IN THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

By the REVEREND E. P. BURTT,
West Newton, Mass.

Jerusalem, A. D. 50-65.

The date of this letter, you observe, is quite indefinite. I have left it so purposely in order to give readers the pleasure of making a more definite assignment for themselves. My purpose in writing is to give you a brief account of a recent conversation which I was permitted to enjoy with pastor James of the church in this city. I found him at his quiet home on Synagogue Street, having just returned from a tour of visitation among the churches of Palestine.

"I had heard" said he "many unfavorable rumors about the state of things both in our country and in the Diaspora. It was reported that grave faults were becoming common among church members and the name of our blessed Lord, by which we are called, dishonored. Indeed I might have feared as much from the difficulties which I encounter in my own church. But I hoped that the reports were wrong or at least exaggerated. At last to satisfy myself I asked leave of absence from my people and, appointing myself a committee of one on the state of religion, I made a personal investigation in most of the places in this land where our countrymen have received the gospel. Not being able to spend the time required to visit the Diaspora I wrote to Peter, Andrew, Thomas, Matthew, and others, whose replies all assure me that the condition of affairs there is much the same as here. But I suppose you are anxious for me to be specific. Well," drawing his note-book (a little roll of parchment) from his pocket, "first of all I will give you a matter-of-fact list of the actual faults which I noticed or of which I secured reliable evidence: unsteadfastness, lack of wisdom, envy, blaming God, unholy zeal, hypocrisy, obsequiousness, formalism, foolish am-

bitions, recriminations, angry words, jealousy, faction, lust, worldliness, pride, love of money, disregard of Providence, impatience at our Lord's delay, swearing."

"Why," said I, "is it possible?"

"I do not wonder," continued James, "that you are astonished. It is a sad picture. However, in justice this ought to be said, We are looking at the dark side. The other side we have not even glanced at. You must remember that many churches are not affected at all, while in others only a few members are guilty of these things. You know how even one unspiritual member, who has really given himself to the flesh, may illustrate nearly all these faults. Take the case of the church at Jericho for example. There is one man down there who gives pastor Zaccheus a world of trouble. The probability is that he was never converted. He joined the church after all persecution had ceased and has been nothing but a reproach ever since. So it is in other places. A few bring into disgrace the whole church. Still I grant that the state of things is bad, and the outlook is still worse unless something can be done to check these evils."

"But how do you account for the presence of these faults so soon in our churches?" said I.

"I suppose," he answered, "that there are several reasons. One of the very first that suggests itself to our minds is historical. Such times as we have experienced for many years past are sure to have a bad influence upon the life of the church. The first few years after our Lord's death, you remember, were years of persecution at the hands of our countrymen. That was a time of great spiritual power. Christians were tested, driven to prayer and only those whose hearts were on fire with love for the Master maintained their ground. We had little difficulty about the faults of church members then. Since that time we have been free from persecution except in one or two brief periods like that under Herod in 44. But this fact though favorable to the rapid increase of numbers has been in many ways decidedly unfavorable in its effect upon church life."

"How do you mean?" said I.

"I mean, in the first place, by opening the doors to unspir-

itual members. In the absence of any great test like that which persecution gives many mistakes are apt to occur. Some are attracted by the freedom of the new faith as opposed to the bondage of the old law. Others, inclined to magic, are carried away by the astonishing displays of the Holy Spirit. Still others, dissatisfied with the waning hopes of our nation, choose the new belief as a last resort, transferring to it all their foolish earthly hopes. So much for that point.

"Then the effect of these last years has been bad in another way. It has been a time of great discouragement. Political troubles have been frequent. Change has followed change, ruler has succeeded ruler. There have been famines, uprisings as in Caesarea and Samaria, wholesale robberies and oppressions. Such times of uncertainty and injustice are peculiarly hard for the poor, and most of our members, you know, are of that class. Rulers grind us with taxes. Rich men refuse us our wages. These and not persecutions are the terrible 'temptations' of this day."

"What effect has this had upon our churches?" I asked.

"Just what you might expect. People do not endure these trials and consequently we find many sad cases of unsteadfastness (1:2-4). Then there is a lack of wisdom and faith even among the steadfast ones. Times like these demand peculiar wisdom in all affairs of life,—in business, in family life, in church affairs. People are easily distracted and forget that there is abundant wisdom above us only waiting for our call (1:5-8). You can see, also, how under such circumstances the poor will easily fall into the sin of envy. Embittered by their own distresses they look with covetous eyes upon the possessions of their more favored neighbors, forgetting that they themselves are the truly rich, being heirs to a "high estate" (1:9-11). Under the weakening power, too, of these outward trials many gradually find themselves falling into sin through inward temptations, and in the darkness which then follows have bitter thoughts of God, attributing all temptations to him and thus justifying themselves for yielding to sins which they cannot (or think they cannot) resist" (1:12-18).

"But don't you think that hereditary tendencies have something to do in explaining the evils in the church?" said I.

"Doubtless. There is one Jewish tendency which has had a marked effect: viz., formalism. I find its hateful presence everywhere. Since persecution ceased the transition from Judaism to Christianity has been too easy. Many have merely grafted the new faith on the old religion and the graft does not thrive very well. I found churches bitterly troubled in this way. One of the first things you notice in such places is the passionate zeal which is employed on behalf of religion, a zeal altogether too impure and abominable to work the righteousness of God. It is the old Pharisaic partisanship in a new dress (1:19-21). And underneath it of course is the old, sad hypocrisy, the double life. The outward requirements of the new faith are scrupulously obeyed, as were those of the old; but when off duty the heart indulges in all sorts of evil. Religion with such people is a mere show. High sounding music, elaborate rituals, costly robes, formal prayers,—these are about the whole of it. Rich men are slavishly honored and their riches coveted for the church while the poor man is thrust aside no matter how good he may be. It is pitiable, is it not? Think of churches where such a spirit prevails! How utterly dead and unspiritual! They need a sharp message" (1:22-2:26).

"It is bad enough," I answered, "and there is more to follow, for you have not yet finished the list of faults which you said you found among the churches."

"So there is more to follow, indeed: foolish ambitions, angry words, jealousy, faction, lust, worldliness, pride, love of money, disregard of Providence, impatience at our Lord's delay, swearing. Some of these, I suppose, are to be explained partly by local causes. I notice that churches situated in educational centres in this country, and also churches in the Diaspora which have met Eastern or Western culture, are assailed by one bad temptation; viz., to exalt unduly the *charism* of teaching above all other gifts of the Holy Spirit. Every little man sets himself up as a teacher. Not yet, indeed, has Oriental gnosticism nor Western philosophy invaded our churches to produce divisions over doctri-

nal questions, but this foolish ambition to teach makes trouble over every conceivable matter. Every question, great or small, is made the subject of discussion,—for example, the question of caring for the widows, the poor and the sick, the election of officers, the duties of officers, methods of church work, management of meetings, and so on endlessly. Indeed, the smaller the question, oftentimes the greater the dispute, because the discussion lacks the gravity which a matter of importance would give it. So it sometimes happens that very sad results appear. When the tongue really runs loose, you can imagine how terrible its work is (3:1-12)! Then bitter envy and strife are apt to follow which show only too clearly that this wisdom which sets itself up to teach is not from above, but is earthly, carnal, demoniacal (3:13-18).

“In some places, as Damascus, Babylon, the churches are surrounded by the fascinations of worldly pleasure. Of course such tendencies are not confined to these special places, but I name them as representative. Oh! for a little persecution again! How quickly would it weed out these worldly members! So bad is this evil in some cases, that even prayer is a mockery. People ask things from God which they purpose to use in sinful pleasure. Horrible! Here also is a fruitful source of pride, envy, hypocrisy, backbiting and numerous other evils (4:1-12).

“Then there are other places, like Joppa down here, and Tyre and Alexandria, where there is a terrible temptation of still another kind. The life of those places is trade. So there is born a passion for gain. Every boy grows up a trader. The little urchins on the street play ‘store’ every day. The church at Joppa sadly illustrates this evil. They disregard Providence in their plans, and when reproved repeat the offence, and even boast that they came out all right (4:13-17).

This feverish desire for gain is increased in some by their old ideas of the earthly nature of the Messiah’s kingdom. They look for great wealth to fall to each of the followers of Christ when he shall come to conquer all enemies and distribute the kingdoms and riches of this world among his people. Some of them, therefore, do not scruple to help themselves in advance.

But how foolish for them to copy the rich men of the world, who are hastening to a terrible judgment" (5:1-6)!

"I believe you spoke also of impatience at our Lord's delay, did you not?"

"Yes, that is a prevalent fault. I fear we shall all have to plead guilty to that charge. Our Lord's words seemed to assure us of his speedy coming, and many of the events He predicted as preceding his coming have already come to pass. Impostors, proclaiming themselves to be the Messiah, have appeared. We have heard of wars in the West and the East. The great famine of 46 is one thing he evidently must have meant when he spoke of famines. For several years after his death his disciples were brought before councils and suffered imprisonment and even death for his sake. Certainly, also, iniquity has prevailed and the love of many has waxed cold. All these signs, to speak of no more, have been fulfilled. Then the condition of the times has been so bad, that many faint under burdens which seem to promise no relief until Jesus shall come to right these wrongs. I suppose one reason, too, for this impatience is the influence of tradition. You know how, for one hundred years back, our nation has been on tip-toe looking for the Messiah. Among Christians, now that Jesus has come, this feeling is transferred to the promise of his second coming. (5:7-11).

Speaking of traditional influence reminds me of the last fault in our list, viz., swearing. The effect of centuries of false teaching on the subject of oaths cannot be undone in a moment. Conscience is perverted, judgment is obtuse. Christians make sophistical distinctions between oaths, calling some right and others wrong. Yet how plainly our Lord taught us on this point; 'Swear not at all, neither by the heaven, for it is the throne of God, nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of his feet' (5:12).

These are the chief faults which I have noticed among our churches, but explain them as we will, the saddest fact of all is the fact of their existence."

"Cannot something be done to correct these things?" asked I.

"I wish there might be," he said. "I have pondered over it much and sometimes I feel strongly impelled to send a letter to

all the churches, denouncing such evils and entreating the faithful to greater endurance and a more spiritual life. What would you think of it?"

"The very thing to do. I do believe the Holy Spirit has suggested the plan to your mind, and may the same blessed Spirit prepare the hearts of the people for the message!" answered I, rising to go.

Such was the substance of our conversation. If James concludes to write his letter I will send you copies later, that you may use them to check any similar evils which may be developing in your country.

Yours in the faith.

PHILIP.

MAN'S CONCEPTION OF GOD FROM AN HISTORICAL STANDPOINT.

By JOHN W. SMITH, LL.B.,
Chicago.

Man a religious being.—Why?—Primitive revelation.—From a process of reasoning.—Observation of nature.—Agnosticism.—Divinely implanted instinct or faculty.—Meagreness of accurate information as to historical religions heretofore.—Avenues now open.—Explorations.—Philology.—Archæology.—Psychology.—Ethnography.—Mythology.—Folk lore.—Evolution a factor.—The recognition of the existence of gods, or gods universal.—Necessity of viewing conception from observer's standpoint.—Indian conception.—Hebrew.—Christian.—Elements changing currents of thought.—Seeds of religion, elements modifying growth.—Race characteristics, environments political surroundings.

As far back as authentic history reaches, man has been a religious, or worshipping being. Exploration and research among the ruins of prehistoric times conclusively point in the same direction. Worship presupposes an object worshipped, a god, or gods, a something above man, an object, if not of veneration, gratitude or reverence, then an object of supremacy and power capable of being exerted to his advantage or disadvantage, his weal or woe, and susceptible, if properly approached, of wielding such power for his benefit. Though his purposes have been innumerable, and oftentimes crude and child-like, yet, man in all ages, whether savage or civilized, has sought, from one motive or another, by one process or another, to obtain the good-will and gracious favor of his god or gods. Whether his goal has been the attainment of happiness, here or hereafter, or the averting of punishment, here or hereafter, man's whole history exhibits a constant effort, on his part, to place himself at one with his deity. The sacred books of Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, India, China, and Palestine all tell the same story, and are the written records of man's aspirations for, and his graspings after, the infinite. The fetishes and totems of the

savage and the splendid temples of Thebes and Jerusalem alike are evidences of his conception of god and of his desire and effort to place himself on terms of reconciliation and meritorious favor with that god.

But how are we to account for this universally prevalent disposition, or inclination, on the part of man to worship? Why is it that he worships the sun, the moon, the earth, or any object in nature, or nature itself? Why does he worship God, or many gods, or any god at all? To these inquiries many answers have been given. Some have maintained that man's conception of God is an inheritance derived from an original and primitive direct revelation. Others have supposed that the idea of the existence and attributes of a Supreme Being resulted from a process of pure reasoning, on the part of man. Others still have as strongly maintained that the idea is to be attributed solely to the observation of nature, its beauty, its grandeur, its harmony and laws. Others have maintained that the idea of God is inconceivable, unknowable, and that man's conceptions on the subject are mere chimeras, and worship, in all its forms, a superstition. While still others have insisted that man was created a worshipping being, receiving from his creator a divinely implanted faculty or instinct, capable of apprehending the Infinite, with an inclination and longing therefor; or, in other words, that religion is inherent in man, and is in him a mode of action, a potential energy quite as much as the forces and powers are inherent in material substances, gravity for instance, "and, if we will but listen attentively, we can hear in all religions a groaning of the spirit . . . a longing after the Infinite, a love of God." Cicero has said, "*Natura insculpsit in mentibus ut Deos aeternos et beatos haberemus.*"

But it is not within the scope of this paper to answer all or any of the questions propounded, or critically to examine the answers given above, except in so far as the treatment of the subject may incidentally trench thereon. It is intended to outline, in the briefest possible manner, the belief of man as to his objects of worship, as we find such belief embodied in the various phases of the historical religions of the world, viewed solely from an

historical standpoint. Comparative religion has taken too firm a hold on the minds of thinking men, and the advantages to be derived therefrom have become too firmly established longer to require an apology for invoking its aid, or resorting to its methods in the treatment of a subject of this kind.

The time has been when the name of God was regarded as too sacred to be pronounced even by mortal lips, and to avoid the speaking of the name various devices have been resorted to, all of which have brought about more or less confusion. Some nationalities or tribes have entertained comparatively well defined ideas concerning God, that were analogous to those of strict monotheists, yet they never permitted those conceptions to assume or become embodied in appellative forms, much less proper names. It is not all improbable that many of our modern theologians and writers would be misunderstood if listened to or read by those who are ignorant of our beliefs and current modes of expression, if indeed they were not called gross polytheists. The pictorial possibilities of language are such, and the fascination of imagery so developed in our natures, that it is feared we sometimes almost trench on the domain of image worship itself in our written and spoken dealings with sacred things. While reverence towards God is, in the very highest degree, commendable, yet, if the inquiry Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am? was not irreverent when made it cannot be so now, if we but make use of the inquiry in a proper manner for proper motives. If the heavens declare God's glory and the firmament is an evidence of his handiwork it cannot be sacrilegious to inquire into and examine the impress that God has left on man. If man is the image of God, and we take into consideration his accomplishments thus far, and the possibilities of the future, with all nature and its laws at his command, it may be that he will be regarded in coming ages the best and highest revelation of God.

Until within the century now closing our information of the belief and worship of Egypt, Chaldea, Babylonia and Assyria, Persia, India and China, was derived from mere historical fragments compiled at ages of the world when facilities for accurate information were exceedingly meagre, and frequently by men

who were wholly unacquainted with the language and the people whose religion they sought to portray. In some cases their only means of information was through an observation of the—to them—strange forms and ceremonies, of a strange people, speaking an unknown tongue. In other cases their knowledge was derived from the officiating priests who oftentimes, among their own people even, embodied their thoughts in a dead language and enveloped their acts and religious ceremonies in mystery, and could not be expected to, and as we now know, did not disclose to their foreign inquisitors very full information regarding their beliefs and sacred worship. We also know that much of the history we have, has been strangely discolored by the medium through which our information has been transmitted. The fragments we have from Berosus, and the statements from Herodotus, Diodorus, and many others, are warped and distorted, unintentionally it may be, by the infiltrations of Greek thought. Philo and many of the early Christian fathers spoke and wrote of things as seen through Grecian atmosphere impregnated with the philosophy of their times, and used a terminology poorly adapted to the subject matter they were considering. Even in modern times much of our religious historical literature seems to indicate a feeling, either expressed or implied, in the minds of the writers, that surely no good can come out of Nazareth, if not akin to that other thought born on Arabian soil that there is no god but God and Mohammed is his prophet. It has only been within recent times that sectarian walls have begun to show evidence of decay, and it has been thought lawful to drink from the wells of Samaria, or even from those of Hindustan or Persia.

But thanks to the patient and scholarly investigation of the nineteenth century we are now enabled to read the thoughts, feelings and emotions that actuated men in remote antiquity, long ages before Abram left Ur of the Chaldees. Explorations have brought to light from the ruins of two continents inscriptions that speak to us in the very words of primitive man. Explorers in another field, philology, have also dug up from another class of ruins treasures of priceless value that have lain hidden for thousands of years. Archæology has done much to

enable us to see primitive man as he was, as he thought, lived and died. Psychology, ethnography, mythology and folk-lore, have carried us back to the formative periods of the civilized races of men and opened up to us vast treasure houses of information stored when Europe was a wilderness and America unknown. And thus we are brought face to face with, hear the voice of, and learn the thoughts and yearnings of, man far back towards the infancy of the human race. We have the authentic records that bear the seals of the writers and impart a verity that is beyond question. The revelations from the ruins of Thebes and Nineveh disclose no field for redactors, no mistakes of copyists and no discolorations of subsequent commentators. The prayers and songs of the sacred books of Egypt and Babylon, India and Persia pour forth the beliefs, hopes and aspirations of men who were at least contemporaries of Moses and David. All these things can only portend an era of better thought, more accurate information, higher methods of treatment, and more useful results in the science of comparative religion.

At the very threshold of our investigation of this subject we discover a law applicable to every field of inquiry, every religion, or branch of religion, and the various phenomena attending the outward forms of worship. That law is the law of progress, development or evolution. It is true the very mention of the word evolution has a harsh grating on the nerves of those who entertain the traditional idea of a supposed prehistoric and primitive special revelation at a time when mankind are supposed to have lived in a state of simplicity and moral rectitude, constantly in communion with God, and subsequently began a course of retrogression, ending in polytheism and pagan darkness. That God could have so revealed himself specially to primitive man is true, but whether he did or not is pure speculation without an iota of evidence to sustain the assumption. That he has revealed himself through chosen instruments, in historical times, and is still doing so, the whole history of man furnishes an abundance of evidence. We know the earth in its preparation for man's habitation has been a series of progressive steps. We have many indications that the universe is undergoing a similar process of

development. Prehistoric archæology conclusively shows that man himself has passed from the chipped stone age to the polished stone age, thence to a copper or bronze age, thence to an iron age, and thence to a steam or an electric age, or as another has said: We can trace man from a time when he was the contemporary of the *Elephas Antiquus*, with perhaps no knowledge of fire or clothing and certainly none of earthenware, when his only implement was a flint mallet or hatchet; thence he passed to an age in which he lived exclusively by hunting, clothed himself in skins, dwelt in caves or roamed in nomadic hordes; thence he passed to an age of simple agriculture, possessing domestic animals, and lived in little groups or clans on fortified heights or in lake cities; thence he passed on to a later age of barter and exchange, in developing commerce, cities and the concomitants of intercommunication; later on came writing and the age of inscriptions. Philology furnishes unmistakable evidence of the same law of progression, in opposition to the supposed primeval revelation of language, and that language the Hebrew. The language of children and savages we know to be extremely simple, dealing almost solely with the concrete, and wholly devoid of abstract ideas. Words, to us representing ideas intricate and complicated, when traced to their sources, represented to primitive man ideas extremely simple. What volumes of meaning are embraced in our English word *deity*, but when we trace it back through its Teutonic, Roman and Greek equivalents to an original Aryan source we find it in the Sanskrit *diaus*, meaning "sky." The same law of evolution is apparent in the forms of government, in art, in science, in literature. Astronomy is an unbroken, step by step, gradation from Chaldean astrology up to its present position. And as D'Alviella says: "Do what we may we can no longer escape the necessity of submitting the religious sentiment to the general law of evolution which affirms the concurrent principles of continuity and progress, whether in the cosmography of the siderial world, the geology of the terrestrial sphere, the palæontology of living beings, or the archæology and history of the human race." To the same effect are the conclusions of that prince of investigators in this field of modern thought, Max

Müller, as well as the more conservative but scholarly De Pressensé, and many others. We have dwelt at length upon this phase of the subject for reasons that will be more apparent later on.

A careful study of the world's religions will establish the existence of certain facts underlying them all, and this is especially true regarding the conceptions of God and man's attempts to place himself in harmony with that of God, through the medium of the many forms of worship that have been adopted.

(1) In all religions, man has recognized the existence of some being or beings, some object or thing, by him supposed to be superior to and above himself. (2) A feeling of weakness in himself and a dependence upon that being or beings, object or thing assumed to exist. (3) A belief or faith on his part in his ability to reach his God or gods, by the use of some form or other of sacrifice, offering, or prayer. (4) A like belief or faith that, on the proper approach to that God or gods, his wishes, desires or hopes will be realized. These phenomena, so far as they relate to man's religious manifestation, are universal, found alike in the most benighted savage as well as in the highest form of civilized man, everywhere and at all times, and under all circumstances and conditions.

First, then, as to the recognition by man of the existence of a being or beings, object or thing, by him supposed to be superior to himself. At the very threshold of our investigation we are met by confusion and chaos. In his groping after the infinite, man has laid hold of the tangible and intangible, the natural and supernatural, the earth, the moon, the sun, the stars, and even the universe itself. This confusion, growing out of the multiplicity of gods, is somewhat dissipated, however, when we come to take into consideration the circumscribed horizon of the observer. That we must do, to understand correctly and interpret the religion of any individual or people. Standing on the mountain top the horizon is broad and illimitable. Measured from our standpoint, with all the civilizations of the past below us, we are disposed to be too critical of those who dwell in the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Indus. The philosophers of Athens recognized the shortsightedness and

imperfections in the visions of those below them, as did Paul on Mars Hill. Confucius, Gautama, and Zoroaster likewise saw the short-comings of their people, as did Moses from Sinai. The prophets not only saw the waywardness of Israel, but its blindness as well. Thus it is, seeing through a "glass darkly," we measure mankind in our own bushel, and weigh Paganism by the current standards of today. Looking at man in his march down through the ages we see his pathway strewn with errors innumerable, the greatest lesson from which to us should be charity. The most profound thought of the Indian of America was that there was a Great Spirit that would assist him in his chase, and that Spirit he made his God. The most exalted idea of the Hebrew was that of a national God, with jurisdiction and power confined to the limits of Israel. The grand conception of the Christian is of a Creator, a Heavenly Father, infinite in love and goodness, extending to and embracing, not only all nations of the earth, but every creature in whom is the breath of life. Herodotus and Strabo had no right to grow merry over the crudities of Egypt, nor has the pseudo-philosopher of today historical license to interpret the past by the light of this or any other century. Are we yet on firm ground? With all the intelligence and learning, all the knowledge and wisdom, all the manifold advantages of which we boast, coupled with all the teachings of thousands of years in the school of monotheism, no two of us would entirely agree in our conceptions of God, his attributes and power. And if we were but to attempt to assign Him a name, what utter confusion would follow! Does any one believe the conceptions of God entertained by Calvin coincided with those of Luther or Melancthon? Thus it is that we find belief upon belief, strata upon strata, from the lowest forms in savage life to the highest forms in civilized man, and the true historian cannot expect to find imbedded in these beliefs or strata, conceptions belonging to a higher form of civilization. As well might we expect to find the problems of higher mathematics in the curriculum of the Hottentot. Neither is it reasonable to read into the laws of Moses or Manu, the psalms of Israel or Babylon, the science and philosophy, the religions and morals

of a later age. The sciences of astronomy and geology are divine, and the astronomer and geologist must walk nearer to God in searching out and unfolding the laws pertaining to the earth or the universe, but here again we must wait the "fulness of time" for our revelations.

Moreover, we must not expect the great streams of thought to be uniform in any branch of investigation. The great river, in its course, meets with many modifying influences, many obstructions and confluent streams, all changing more or less its general character or deflecting its course to the right or to the left. In the political life of a nation not infrequently its whole trend is changed by a Gladstone. The philosophy of Socrates and Plato has its influence in the present age. And so it is in the world of religious life. The Buddhas and Mahomets often change the whole current of thought, and these influences must be carefully weighed and estimated if we would correctly understand the history of the past, and oftentimes the current history of the present.

There are many phenomena attending man's belief in God that the thoughtful student must also carefully note, estimate, and weigh. Not infrequently are to be found, in the same people and running parallel with each other, conceptions of God of the very highest excellence and moral grandeur, and conceptions of the most anthropomorphic nature. How is it that in the Zend Avesta we have two coequal gods, one good and one bad, one creator and one destroyer; or in our own religion we have a supreme God, the embodiment of righteousness and truth, and also a satanic majesty limited in power it is true, but marvelous in the magnitude of his deeds, most unrighteous and the father of liars? How is it that some gods have consorts, children even, and eat and drink and make merry and die? How is it that the same people worship one god in one city or province and another god in another city or province, or, if the same god, why is he called one name at Thebes and another at Heliopolis? Why is it we have one god at one age and another at a later, an El Shaddai in Abraham's time, and an Elohim or Jehovah at another, or, if coexisting, why so? Why do the strictly mono-

theistic Mohammedans have one hundred and eleven names for God? All these, and many other questions of similar import, are elements entering into the subject. Along with them are the various forms and phases of pantheism, polytheism, henotheism, monotheism, totemism, and fetishism, which must be analyzed and carefully examined from every standpoint, and their relations to, and dependence upon, each other, ascertained. Is polytheism first in point of time or monotheism, and does history furnish us any evidence upon the question?

If, as we have assumed, and as almost all scholars now admit, religion is universal among men, then it must be true that the seeds of religion are universally the same, and, as Max Müller remarks, that seed is the perception of the infinite. It is not claimed that this perception is in all people the same in degree, for apprehension does not include comprehension. Even if the starting point should be the same the growth in all cases will be more or less modified by the environments. For instance, it may be true that the Semitic mind in its first gropings after the infinite sprang from a single impulse and its first manifestation was simple and unique, and that the earliest name for god among the original Semitic stock was El, meaning power, or powerful, yet, in its subsequent development and growth, there have been many modifying factors resulting, in time, in the Babylonian, Arabian, Hebrew, Phœnician, and other religions more or less divergent and distinct. These elemental factors that have wrought such changes in historic religions, are many, but among them may be mentioned (1) difference in character of the races, (2) the nature of their homes and occupations, and (3) the political, social, moral and industrial relations sustained to other preceding or surrounding nations or peoples. Thus we notice, as observed by Professor Tiele, "the joyous, careless disposition of the sensual negro is reflected in his religion as clearly as the sombre melancholy character of the American Indian is in his."

And in all our investigations of this subject there is great need of caution, or the results will be unreliable. Many savage and semi-civilized peoples have no written records, no sacred books, from which we can learn their beliefs and interpret the

meaning of their simple modes of worship, much less obtain accurate ideas concerning their theogony. Hence in dealing with this class of people we are compelled to make frequent conditional statements, if we would be on the side of veracity. The little word *perhaps* is of frequent occurrence in the vocabulary of the historian, if he desires his statements to receive proper credence, and especially so, when he is dealing with uncivilized peoples, and those who have left scanty records of their acts and deeds.

Thus we are enabled to see at a glance a few of the elements of a general nature that enter into a study of man's conception of God. There are many other special elements that enter into a special study of specific religions, local in their nature, but none the less important and necessary to be considered

THE DIVINE ELEMENT IN THE EARLY STORIES OF GENESIS.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

The uniqueness of the section.—This section an organic part of at least two larger works.—The material of Gen. 1-12.—This material the outgrowth and therefore a part of the divinely ordered history of Israel.—The marked differences found in comparison of these stories with similar outside material.—Practical agreement between this material and the results of science.—Evidence furnished by monotheistic character of the material.—The markedly prophetic character of Gen. 1-12.—The importance of the predictive element in these chapters.

In the preceding article an effort was made to present the facts and considerations which were thought to bear upon the human element in these stories. These having been considered, it now devolves upon us to take up those factors which together constitute what may be called the divine element in these chapters. It will be helpful if in this connection we recall the statement of the question given in a former number. In this statement it was shown that there were really two questions, the first relating to the origin of the narratives, the second relating to the value and character of the facts narrated. Has there entered into the composition of these narratives some external, superhuman, supernatural influence which has left upon them a clear and unmistakable impress? Granting that there has been present such a divine influence, what has been its method? Was the knowledge of these facts imparted by a special revelation, or did the divine influence limit itself to the guidance and direction of the author, as he ascertained for himself in whatever manner possible the material here collected, as he interpreted according to principles the events which were transpiring about him?

If, now, we grant the divine origin in any sense, and decide from a study of the facts that the material is something other than literal history, or that from a scientific point of view it is

imperfect or inaccurate, how may these two things be reconciled? Perhaps the whole matter is involved in the question as to the difference between truth and fact. *

1. *The uniqueness of the section* may fairly be urged as favoring, if it does not prove, the hypothesis that the narratives are, to say the least, extraordinary. This uniqueness has been enlarged upon in a former article¹ and need not be further considered.

2. *This section is an organic part of at least two larger works.*—No one will deny the intimate relationship of these chapters with the remainder of the pentateuch or hexateuch. This relationship is not only literary, but logical. The prophetic stories found here² form a part of the prophetic document which continues through the entire hexateuch. The priest narratives³ also form a part of the priest document which runs through the whole hexateuch. If, now, the hexateuch as a whole is in any sense divine, then these portions of it must share this divine element whatever that may be. If, on the other hand, these portions are not divine, we may reasonably infer that the divine character may be denied the whole hexateuch.

It is evident, therefore, that the question we have to deal with is larger than it at first appeared to be. It is not the character of the earlier stories of Genesis that is in debate, but that of the entire hexateuch. Two parallel cases may be cited; one more limited, the other more extended. There are many who accept without questioning the narrative portions of the Books of Kings which relate to the prophets Elijah and Elisha, and reject altogether the stories found in the Book of Jonah. In this they are guilty of great inconsistency. Even a cursory examination of the stories of Elijah, Elisha, and Jonah shows that they are of the same general character; that they belong to the same age; that the literary style in which they are given is the same; that the narratives come from the same period, a period comparatively late.

If, now, the stories of Elijah and Elisha are authentic and to

¹ BIBLICAL WORLD, September, 1894, page 185

² BIBLICAL WORLD, October, pages 266 et seq.

³ BIBLICAL WORLD, October, pages 266 et seq.

be accepted, so likewise are those of Jonah. If there is reason for rejecting the stories of Jonah, the same reasons will compel one to reject the stories of Elijah and Elisha. Whatever view is held of a part must be accepted of the whole. This same line of argument applies also to the Old Testament as compared with the New. As has been said so many times, the two are inseparable; they are bound together by ties which may not be broken. If there is a divine element in the New Testament, that same element will be found in the Old Testament which lies at the basis of the New, and which was always recognized as divine by the writers of the New. These cases are strictly parallel with the case in hand. If there is any divine element in the five books of Moses, it is to be found in these chapters.

3. *The material of Gen. 1-12 is preparatory and fundamental* to the whole plan of salvation as revealed by God in the Old and New Testaments. The first six of the many steps in this plan are found in the chapters under consideration. These are (1) the account of the original state of innocence and the fall therefrom; (2) the promise given of an ultimate victory over sin; (3) the selection of Noah that through him there might come comfort to the world; (4) the destruction of the world that once more man might have opportunity to develop; (5) the selection of Shem to be the special medium of divine revelation to the world; (6) the narrowing of the line in Abraham.

The steps that immediately follow are those represented in sacred history by the names Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Moses, David, and by the organization of the royal order, the priestly order, the prophetic order. It is only necessary to note that the plan which runs through the entire Bible would have no beginning, and would be utterly inexplicable without these earliest steps. If such a plan exists, and if in it there is anything of the divine element, we must surely find this divine element also in the preparatory stages which sustain so important a relation to what follows. One need only make the effort to conceive this plan without the earlier portion of it, to understand how impossible is such a conception. If, therefore, one is willing to deny the existence of such a plan, or to deny the divine character of it,

he may consistently throw aside the divine element in these chapters; otherwise, he is logically compelled to accept the divine character of these chapters as well as of the remaining portions of the Old and New Testament which relate to this plan.

4. *This material is the outgrowth and therefore a part of the divinely ordered history of Israel.*—This consideration is one which should rightly have a volume for its proper presentation. Even to attempt to present it in a few paragraphs seems absurd. There may, however, be suggested the outline of the argument. (1) The history of Israel is a specially ordered history—a history in which God has manifested himself more clearly than in any other. He controls all history. Manifestations of him appear in all history, but in a special sense he has seen fit, for good reasons, to make a revelation of himself in the history of the chosen people. Is this premise capable of scientific demonstration? We answer, yes. A careful study of the facts of Israelitish history, of the character of Israelitish people, and of a comparison of this with other histories, furnishes data which, as we believe, are inexplicable upon any other hypothesis. The man who believes that there is a divine element in the Scripture record will naturally believe that there is a special divine element in the history which lies back of that record. It ought to be clear, however, that the more fundamental question is as to the inspiration of the history; in other words, the presence in the history of a special supernatural element. For if this be true, the inspiration of the records which form a part of the history would naturally follow. (2) It seems upon the whole most probable that we are to find in the prophetic activity of the times of Elijah, Elisha, and Jonah the more immediate occasion of the presentation in *writing* of the prophetic stories which form a part of Gen. 1–12. This does not mean that the events which are here described do not belong to the various times to which they are attributed. This does not mean that there were not in existence long before the times of Elijah, Elisha, and Jonah, oral traditions and written traditions which include these stories. It is understood, however, that the present literary form does not

date back to an earlier period than that mentioned; that it was in this period that men began to see the importance of placing in written form the traditions of the past; and particularly that at this time men began to have the prophetic ideas which controlled the selection of material and moulded the form in which it should be placed. The facts narrated had been known for centuries. The truth which these facts as selected were to teach, in the form in which they are presented, is largely new truth revealed from God in this period of great prophetic activity. (3) It is quite certain that we are to find in the priestly activity which had its origin long before Moses, which was, however, organized and regulated by Moses, and which developed from century to century after the death of Moses, the source of the priest narratives which these chapters contain. What do we mean by this? That as the outgrowth of the Levitical system, which did not spring up in a night, but was the result of the development of many centuries, there came to exist a certain priestly conception. Hence, in order to establish it, and in order to develop it still further, one of its representatives goes back to the beginning of the world, and, selecting from the traditions which had been handed down those which will enable him to accomplish his particular purpose, furnishes us with what we have found to exist in these so-called priestly chapters. (4) This material, as has been seen, is *extra-Israelitish* and *ante-Israelitish*; that is, the events narrated took place outside of the nation Israel, and, indeed, before Israel was known. Nevertheless, in the form in which the material is here presented and interpreted, it is in the truest sense Israelitish. The conceptions which led to the selection of these stories and the omission of others, are Israelitish conceptions. The coloring which every story shows is an Israelitish coloring. The atmosphere which they breathe is Israelitish. Whatever, therefore, one has to say about the Israelitish régime must be said of these narratives. (5) Whence, now, came the purpose and spirit of these writers? To what may we attribute all this, so different from anything which is found in other nations? The logical answer seems to be, to some divine influence which guided and controlled the his-

tory of the sacred people. The history and the writings are inseparable. Whatever we say of one we must say of another. There is no satisfactory explanation of the material on any other hypothesis.

(5) *The marked differences found in comparison of these stories with similar outside material.* Our readers remember how regularly these differences have been presented in connection with the consideration of each story. Taking the stories together, the following assertions may confidently be made: (1) They are sober, not fanciful; (2) they are historical, not legendary or mythical; (3) they are monotheistic, not polytheistic; (4) they exhibit a purpose at every step; (5) they are employed in each case to teach religious ideas of the highest order; (6) they exert an ennobling influence upon thought and life,—an influence beyond all calculation. The similarities between the Scripture stories and the outside stories were many and striking. This indicated beyond doubt a relationship. But whatever relationship may exist, there is no hypothesis other than that of the divine factor in these stories which does not exist elsewhere, that is sufficient under all the circumstances to explain the dissimilarities, which are far more numerous and more striking than were the similarities. One may make strong effort to explain the facts otherwise, but after every such attempt he will, if candid, be compelled to acknowledge the presence of some external objective influence which so permeates and controls the composition of these narratives as to lift them high above all others. If this is not the divine influence, what is it?

It is at this point that the origin of the stories deserves consideration. The question has already been considered. The Hebrew stories, in their outer form, are *sisters* of the similar stories found in other literatures. They all come from a common source. But now the spirit and purpose which are found in the Hebrew stories, the marks of dissimilarity, constitute the divine element. The genetic relationship with outside material cannot be denied. This explanation recognizes the human element; it also recognizes the divine element.

6. *There is, after all, practical agreement between this material and the results of science.*—When everything has been said that can be said, when the differences have been indicated and given all the importance due to them, the lack of agreement is comparatively slight. When the circumstances are considered it must be confessed that the agreement is phenomenal. No such agreement is found in any other ancient religious document. When the points of difference that certainly exist are examined, what do we find? (1) These differences in every case are outside of the proper sphere of revelation. They have to do with subjects in reference to which, it is universally considered, revelation has nothing to do. If revelation had given aid in this sphere, it would have brought reproach upon itself. But this is not all. (2) These differences affect in no way whatever the value of the truth revealed. Here again care must be taken not to confound two entirely distinct things, namely, truth and fact. There may be different and widely varying accounts of a particular event. Indeed, if there are different accounts they will of necessity be at variance one with another. But the great truth which is represented in the event, which, in the providence of God, the event was intended to teach, is something altogether independent of the details of the event. The time has come for the cessation of arbitrary and superficial efforts to reconcile religion and science. Such efforts are always productive of harmful results. The same thing is true of efforts to reconcile different Scripture statements one with another. These statements were not intended to be reconciled. Nothing is gained by reconciling them except possibly some technical archæological or historical point. The great truth contained in the statement holds good in spite of variations of detail.

Everything considered, therefore, no argument against the divine element in this material is to be discovered in lack of agreement between its contents and the results of science. The facts properly interpreted may, on the other hand, be regarded as weighing in favor of the existence of such a divine element.

7. *The monotheistic character of the material furnishes evidence*

which deserves consideration in this connection. It is true that there appeared to be indications here and there of a polytheistic element. These indications, however, are merely the relics of what was once a polytheistic, and not the evidence of an existing polytheism. They are like the case endings, which, though once regularly used in Hebrew, appear now only in certain rare and archaic forms. The evidence, on the other hand, of the monotheistic spirit is everywhere most striking, not only in language but in spirit. It is possible perhaps to explain the development of the monotheistic cult from a lower polytheistic cult without the intervention of the superhuman. This would be difficult to do, but it would be still more difficult to explain the existence of the monotheistic in Israelitish tradition, when on every side the polytheistic prevails. There is undoubtedly development, but no theory of natural development, like that of Wellhausen, will satisfactorily explain the facts which are presented in the Hebrew material. One does not see how this unique element, in itself so distinct and different, is to be explained on any other hypothesis than that of the existence of the divine element.

8. *The markedly prophetic character of Gen. 1-12 must attract the attention of all who study it. The word prophetic is here used in its broadest sense. Every utterance is selected and constructed to teach a great religious truth, or to explain the development of religious life. From this point of view nothing is superficial, nothing is lacking. The religious ideas which are thus promulgated when contrasted with the lack of teaching found in parallel stories, and indeed with their lack of purpose, are in themselves facts of no uncertain meaning. It is barely possible that a human soul without inspiration from above may have created such ideas. One must, however, inquire what there was in the atmosphere of Palestine, in the blood of the Hebrew nation, to lead the Israelitish prophets to such ideas of religious conception, when their neighbors and relatives on every side remained so sunken. The hypothesis of the divine factor working in the souls of these men satisfactorily explains everything.*

9. *The predictive element in these chapters is perhaps the most important element. It is understood that prediction is*

only one element of prophecy ; that it is not the most important element of prophecy. It is at the same time true that the presence of prediction is the strongest possible evidence of the divine element. It is true that the basis of prediction is the knowledge of general laws rather than a prognostication of specific events. But it is at the same time true that the declaration beforehand of what is more or less specific on the basis of principles is strong evidence of something higher than human. The section of Genesis under consideration includes the beginning and the basis of all prediction : the protoevangelium (3 : 15) which contains in germ the whole future of the human race, the declaration of comfort which Noah is to bring (5 : 29), the characterization of the families descending from Noah (9 : 21-27). It is not enough in answer to this position to say that these declarations are from a late date. We may admit that the literary form of each and every one is later than the time of David ; but in admitting this it remains true (1) that the essential idea of each goes back to the time to which it is declared to belong, and (2) that even if this essential idea were as late as the time of David it contains in epitome so much of the future history of the human race, that one cannot deny its divine origin. These predictions appear all the more significant when we remember that in no other sacred literature is there anything of this kind.

Such, in brief, is the line of argument which, if space had permitted, could have been enlarged indefinitely. The purpose has been simply to suggest to the reader points for his own fuller consideration. Some of the points suggested may be emphasized more strongly than others. Some of them, taken individually, may not be thought to have great weight. But it will be noticed that the points presented do not hang one upon the other. In other words, the argument is not to be compared to a chain, and consequently only as strong as the weakest link in the chain. It is rather a rope, each line or argument, combined with all the others, contributing to the strength of the whole.

In conclusion, therefore, it would seem that there is as sure evidence of the divine element as of the human. The existence

of one is as certain as that of the other. It is also true that the relation of the divine is fundamental. The important fact, and one which should not be overlooked, is that the divine element is the force which regulates and controls the whole. It remains now to present a constructive theory which will bring together the human and the divine elements and show their relationship to each other. This task will be attempted in the next article, which will be the last of the series.

The Bible in the Theological Seminary.

SHALL THE OLD TESTAMENT BE USED AS A MEDIUM OF CHRISTIAN TEACHING?

By PROFESSOR GEORGE H. SCHODDE,
Capital University.

It is, to say the least, a genuine surprise that a member of a theological faculty in Germany should seriously defend the proposition that students of theology should not be required to study Hebrew and the Old Testament in the original. It is at first sight, at any rate, equally astounding that teachers of religion in that "land of authors and thinkers" should propose that the study of the Old Testament be excluded from the curriculum of religious training in the schools. And yet both of these propositions have been made; they have been for months, and are being yet, discussed in all seriousness by scholars and religious periodicals in the Fatherland. The first proposition was made by Dr. Schwally, of Strassburg, in a review of a little Hebrew grammar in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, No. 9. He says there: "The entire Hebrew school literature would disappear at one blow if the leaders in this department could come to see that it is entirely unnecessary and superfluous to vex and perplex (*quälen*) young theological students with the study of the Hebrew language. In order to understand the political and religious history of Israel, we need nothing more than translations. The æsthetic worth of this literature is amply reflected in the translation of Luther, who has, *e. g.*, in the Psalms, surpassed even the original. Those, however, who want to learn the original tongue for the purpose of understanding all the better the Old Testament writings, have the time and the opportunity to do so at the universities. In this case it is much better that the student enter without any knowledge of the subject than that he have distorted and false ideas."

The editors of this model critical journal, Professors Harnack and Schürer, added a note to this announcement—something done by them but very rarely—to the effect that they felt themselves constrained to express their dissent in this matter. Naturally others did the same, the most notable article in reply being undoubtedly that of Dobschütz, of Jena, in the organ of liberal theology in Germany, the *Christliche Welt*, of Leipzig (No. 30), in which he emphasized especially the importance of the lexical study of the Old Testament for the understanding of the New. In this article, among other notable statements, is also found the admission that the idea of Schwally, that the study of the Old Testament in the original should be left entirely to the specialist, is a view entertained by quite a number of other biblical scholars in the theological faculties of Germany.

The discussion of the other problem, namely, the removal of the Old Testament from the scheme of Christian education, has been warmly carried on ever since the opening of the year, especially in the *Christliche Welt*, which is the arena for all things new and daring in German theological thought. It originated in the problem, what portions of the Old Testament should now be taught in the schools since the current criticism of the day had so seriously and materially modified the traditional views on the religious history and individual characters of these books. The most noteworthy article in the series appears in No. 18, where a religious teacher published a long article entitled "The Old Testament has no place in Christian Education." His arguments were three in number, namely, that the Old Testament can be dispensed with in Christian education; that Christianity is not a development of Old Testament premises, and that correct pedagogics are against its retention in the scheme. The writer is a radical, but writes warmly and earnestly. He represents the newest views on the subject. Among his propositions are such as these: "Christianity maintains the same relation to Judaism that it does to heathenism. The Jewish prophets did not prophesy Christ as he really appeared and looked. Christianity is something absolutely new, and not merely Messiah-believing Judaism. Christ is not the Jewish Messiah, but the Savior of mankind. The spirit of the Old Testament is radically different from that of the New. Christ has himself declared the Old Testament abrogated. The Decalogue is not suitable to constitute a portion of Christian ethics. It is high time that the prophetic Messiah-mantle be removed from the shoulders of the exalted Christ, so that we may be able to see the Son of Man in all his glory." These and similar views are expressed and defended by this anonymous writer, who is also the author of a publication having a similar tendency, entitled, "*Das Judenchristentum in der religiösen Volks-erziehung des deutschen Protestantismus.*"

Naturally these propositions have called forth the sharpest of replies, also on the part of liberal writers. The editor of the *Welt* has written several articles in which he shows what portions of the Old Testament can yet be used in religious education. A most noteworthy discussion is a long article in No. 25 of that journal, in which the writer endeavors to show that of the historical portions of the Old Testament but little can henceforth be usefully employed, but that the prophetic and poetical portions of the Old Testament can still be used to great advantage. The latest reply is found in No. 32, where an "orthodox" writer suggests caution and carefulness. His propositions are: "Remember that you are standing upon sacred ground. Be careful not to underestimate the offense given by destructive criticism to countless earnest Christians, and do not claim as certain results of criticism which are only hypotheses." The article in question together with others called forth by this remarkable discussion are deeply instructive and a sign of the times. The question at issue is, What shall the church do with the Scriptures if a neological criticism has undermined them? The outcome of this debate will be watched with intense interest.

Comparative Religion Notes.

Current Studies in Comparative Religion.—Under the auspices of the "American Society of Comparative Religion" a "Congress of Religions" was held at Long Beach, Long Island, August 5-11 of the present year. The special lecturer was the Rev. Joseph Cook, who spoke on "The World's First Parliament of Religions" and other topics concerned equally with Christian thought and life. Other topics and speakers were, "Confucianism as Ethics and Religion," by the Rev. George W. Knox, D.D.; "Theosophy and Christianity Irreconcilable," by the Rev. C. R. Blauvelt, Ph.D.; "Contacts and Divergencies of the Ethnic Religions and their Relations to Christianity," by the Rev. F. F. Ellinwood, D.D.; "Survivals of Zoroastrianism," by the Rev. A. H. McKinney, Ph.D.; "Mohammedanism in Africa," by the Rev. A. P. Atterbury, D.D.; "The Strongholds of Islam: are they Impregnable?" by Professor J. S. Dennis, D.D.; "A Comparison of the Hindoo Schools of Philosophy with Western Thought," by Professor S. L. Beiler, Ph.D.; "The Fetish," by the Rev. D. J. Burrell, D.D.

Announcements are made respecting the fall meetings of the "American Society of Comparative Religion" as follows: September 24th, Rev. J. W. Brooks, "Revised Aryanism"; October 29th, Rev. R. MacQuesten, "The Early Religions of Mexico and South America"; November 26th, Rev. H. T. McEwen, "The Permanent Elements in Religion"; December 17th, Rev. H. H. Sleeper, "The Linga Cult in India and its Influence on other Religions." These addresses are delivered at the Assembly Room of the Methodist Book Concern, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Some Recent Articles.—The recent articles on our topic in popular and scientific periodicals have been very abundant. We will attempt to indicate the contents and value of some of them as illustrative of the amount of interest and thought which this field attracts.

Astronomy and Religion. By Sir Edwin Arnold, in *The North American Review*, October, pp. 404-415. In vague and swelling language he demands that the discoveries of astronomy respecting the insignificance of our earth in comparison with the systems of the universe influence our Christianity; asserts that religion can no longer centre about the earth and man; that the "plan of salvation" dwindles to its proper insignificance when we think that God—"that most vast and vague name of God"—is the Savior of all the other worlds. There is some truth here, but it has been said before in such works as Mitchell's *Astronomy and the Bible*, where the other side of the case is also presented, here omitted.

Astronomy of the Incas. By M. Jean Du Gourcq, in *The Popular Science Monthly*, October, pp. 823-832. Is translated from the French, and poorly done, the meaning being unintelligible sometimes. Illustrates vividly the close relation of primitive religion and astronomy. Inca culture closely connected with their observation of times and seasons. Solstitial festivals observed with strange customs; at the September festival the participants struck one another with whips of burning straw, bathed in running water, sacrificed one hundred white llamas, kept intoxicated for four days. The moon was regarded as male; the daughter of the king, enamored of him, leaped from a high mountain as he passed and became united with him, recognized as a moon spot. Was also regarded as female, the first wife of the sun god. The phases of the moon were connected with the idea of resurrection, its disappearance beyond the snowy mountains was but for three days, then it rose again. The eclipse of the moon was feared, since it would die and fall on the earth and destroy the inhabitants; hence as an eclipse began a great din was raised, dogs—animals sacred to the moon—were made to howl, and thus the moon induced to struggle for life. These ideas and practices find their counterparts all over the world. In the frequency and character of their festivals the Incas resembled the ancient Romans.

Where the Teak Wood Grows. By M. M. Pope, in *The Century Magazine*, October, pp. 890-895. Has a suggestive paragraph respecting two of these great trees which watch over a Buddhist shrine in Aloung-dah-katapoh, which has no priest and is distant one hundred miles from human habitation. It contains a recumbent Buddha of colossal size. Thither come pilgrims and paste sheets of gold leaf onto the image. Part of this gold covering, now of great thickness, was stolen last year—by foreigners?—but has been restored by a body of pilgrims organized for that purpose. Another Buddhist shrine and place of pilgrimage is described in **A Journey to the Sacred Mountain in China**, by A. H. Savage-Landor, in *Fortnightly Review*, September, pp. 393-409. The purpose of the visitor in seeking this place was neither religious nor scientific, and it is amusing to note how little of real value to the scientific student he saw. Like many other English tourists, we imagine, he wanted the glory of having scrambled up the mountain. It is 12,000 feet high. At the top he found a small wooden shrine three feet square, six feet high, within it some poor bronze images of Buddha with holes near the base for stuffing paper prayers into the image. One fact he mentions—that evil spirits in China travel only in straight lines, hence if one erects a wall before the door of his house they cannot find their way within. The same phenomenon is observed by Carl Lumholtz in his **Tarahumari Dances and Plant Worship**, in *Scribner's Magazine*, October, pp. 438-456. These Indians of the Sierra Madre Mountains build fences before the doors of their houses to keep the smallpox out. They have also various charms on the doors to frighten the evil spirits away. Their most characteristic religious phenomena are the use of beer in the sacred ceremonies, the emphasis laid on sacred dances, and the

worship of sacred plants, some forms of cacti called Hakori which live several months after being dug up and are thought to be gods. The whole description is most instructive. Why does Lumholtz call these fellows "pagans" and "heathen" so often? Is it German deference to American orthodoxy?

West African Folklore. By Col. A. B. Ellis, in *Popular Science Monthly*, October, pp. 771-783. Denies that these Africans are fetish worshipers, and asserts that they are pure animists, worshiping spirits. Presents some amusing examples of their folklore to prove that they are not so degraded in religion as was supposed.

Funeral Customs of the World. By J. H. Long, in *Popular Science Monthly*, October, pp. 806-812. Is evidently the work of an amateur, pious, widely read, but not sure of his facts. Asserts that the care of the dead is a sign of a people's standing in the scale of civilization. Classifies the methods into three: (1) simple closing up of the body in earth or stone—earliest and most common. (2) Burning the body and entombing the "cinders." This was the prevailing way in the Roman Empire, but Christianity stopped it on account of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. (3) Embalming—characteristic especially of Egypt. Under this head the apocryphal stories about a judgment of the dead man before burial, and the placing of the mummy in the seat of honor in the banquet hall are stated as sober truth. All these customs are regarded as an argument in favor of immortality.

The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India. By Max Müller, in *Nineteenth Century*, October, pp. 515-522. Demolishes with good-humored sarcasm and keen analysis the claims of the Russian fabrication of M. Notovitch. Closes up with a letter from an Englishwoman at the scene of the alleged manuscript discovery, in which the sensible writer remarks that she is beginning to suspect that "the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism are frauds." Yet among us, men, apparently of sound mind, are today being hoodwinked into believing the Munchausen tales of a man who has been to Lassa and talked with a marvelous seven-year-old Lama who can speak all languages? And yet "no Englishman ever got to Lassa." Did our German-American friend get there?

Lafcadio Hearn has been at **Hakata** *Atlantic Monthly*, October, pp. 510-514. He has been profoundly impressed with the vitality of Buddhism, because in this Japanese town he saw a Buddha head in a temple of the Jodo sect, which was made out of bronze mirrors contributed by devout women, and about whose base lay multitudes more of these mirrors which are to constitute the trunk of the image, all to be thirty-five feet high. He is more sensible when he turns to the study of the use of these mirrors in religion, but, alas! not much more instructive, for after suggesting their magical character and noting the fact that they are sometimes buried with the dead, he wanders off again into moralizing. A thoroughly instructive insight into Buddhism is given in **The Religion of Gotama Buddha**, by William Davies, in *Atlantic Monthly*, September, pp. 334-339. The writer's idea was to illustrate the point of view of Bud-

dhism and interpret its spirit. He has done so by a body of full quotation from the earliest documents, with explanatory comments. He denies the esoteric element in Buddhism proper, wherein he is perfectly right. With sober judgment he finds Christianity superior to Buddhism in its ability to combine with social progress, in its loving, helpful temper, in the universality of its spirit—Buddhism does not have a really broad spirit—and in the dignity and nobility of Jesus Christ with whom Buddha, great as he is, cannot compare. In conclusion, he raises a note of warning against taking poetical and late representations of Buddhism as the basis of information and judgment, and urges study of the most literal translations of the most trustworthy material. A fair hit at Sir Edwin Arnold and "The Light of Asia"!

Mohammedanism receives its fair share of attention, especially from apologists for it among its own numbers and friends outside. Among the latter was Professor Max Müller, in an article written some months ago, respecting his visit to Constantinople. It appeared too long ago to come under our review here, but it receives the attention of the Rev. B. F. Kidder in *Intemperance and Immorality in Mohammedan Countries*, *Homiletic Review*, October, pp. 372-376. It appears that the Oxford professor fell into a trap and was shown the best side of the system in order that he might be suitably impressed and thus influence others. Mr. Kidder shows the other side in most vigorous and picturesque language. The impression produced is painful yet enlightening. Probably the truth lies between the two extreme views. It would be foolish to deny that the moral system of Islam, while simple and forcible, is yet only fit for a people just emerging from half-civilized life. Such a system does well what it proposes to do, but the trouble is with what it does not propose to do. Yet our Mohammedan friends and their apologists will still persist in quibbling over texts in the Quran and holding up the glorious example of the Moors in Spain, to whom be all honor! Such work we find in *Did Omar destroy the Alexandrian Library?* by R. Vasendeva Rau, Hyderabad, India, in *The Nineteenth Century*, October, pp. 555-571. He emphasizes the lateness of the testimony which appears nearly four centuries after the alleged occurrence, and quotes with appreciation such writers as Gibbon, Buckle, and Draper—which shows the company he keeps! Then he turns off to castigate the sins of Christianity and invites those who are horrified at the Moslem massacres of infidels to contemplate the work of the Inquisition. His idea of the Moslem theory is this: "When the idolaters and polytheists had been extirpated from Arabia the intolerant zeal of the Moslems was converted into the steady and wise policy of allowing the conquered nations to retain their freedom of conscience and religious worship on payment of tribute." Interesting testimony is borne also by Napoleon Ney in an article on *Mussulman Secret Societies* in *The Cosmopolitan*, September, pp. 556-569. The writer, a French military officer, in his training, is now apparently a Mussulman, at least in sympathies, and a member of one of the secret organizations which he describes. He represents the Mohammedan world

as honeycombed with them, all with one aim, the destruction of the infidel and the extension of Islam. Eight of these brotherhoods are found foremost in North Africa, the greatest of which is that of Sedi Mohammed el Senoussi. The son of its founder is its present chief, and commands half the Mussulman world. M. Ney urges us not "to confound the political and religious Mohammedan sects, which, under the cloak of religion, sow the seeds of hate and carry on a propaganda hostile to the Christians, with the Mussulman religion proper, tolerant and altruistic beyond most religions." Mr. J. Theo. Bent and his wife found something of the spirit of Islam in a visit which is described in *The Hadramut, a Journey in Southern Arabia*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, September, pp. 419-437. This wonderful region is inhabited by a population which in many sections is intensely fanatical, and the lives of the travelers were often threatened, and prayers offered up in the mosques against them. A curious custom is mentioned—the children are provided, during the holy month Ramadan, with miniature mosques, which they light up and with which they are encouraged to "play mosque."

Two articles deal with that great and unique phenomenon of current religious life—the Parliament of Religions. The first is called *Echoes of the Parliament of Religions*, by Prince Serge Wolkonsky, in *The Century Magazine*, October, pp. 901, 902. By his attitude and words in the Parliament the prince impressed one as rather radical than religious. His article confirms that impression. Three lessons were learned, according to him: (1) Consciousness of our Christian divisions. (2) Changelessness of certain fundamental qualities of human nature, by which the equality of all men is proclaimed; notable among these qualities is religious feeling, common to humanity. (3) The "declassification" of our human brother, *i.e.*, we are all brothers first and some of us Christians afterward. Rev. Dr. J. H. Barrows, writing on *The Results of the Parliament of Religions* in *The Forum*, September, pp. 54-67, gathers a great mass of testimony which has reached him relative to the meaning and issues of this assembly. He sums up these results in the following way: (1) An interest in Comparative Religion was aroused. (2) The Orientals were impressed with the fraternity and love of Christians. (3) A new and humaner interest in foreign missions was produced. (4) A better understanding between Protestants and Catholics in America was established. (5) All Christianity was brought together and shown its essential unity in the ideals of faith and duty. (6) The ethical unity of the civilized world was emphasized. This article, in its insight and broad charity, together with its mass of facts relative to interest in our science, may well close these notes on recent periodical literature in Comparative Religion.

A New Course of Lectures.—A committee of American scholars, consisting of such gentlemen as President Schurman of Cornell University, Professors Toy of Harvard, Haupt of Johns Hopkins, Hooper of Brooklyn Institute, and others, has been for some time arranging for yearly courses of lectures on the

History of Religions, to be given by eminent scholars in Europe and America. This movement has culminated in the securing of Professor Rhys Davids, the eminent student of Buddhism. He will deliver six lectures, first at Cornell University, beginning November 1st, and will repeat the course in whole or in part, at the Lowell Institute of Boston, Brown University, Peabody Institute of Baltimore, in Philadelphia, at Columbia College, and the Brooklyn Institute. The general subject is the History and Literature of Buddhism, and the special topics are (1) "Sketch of the Evolution of Religious Thought in India with special reference to Buddhism;" (2) "The Authorities on which Knowledge of Buddhism is based;" (3) "The Life of Buddha;" (4) "The Buddhist Secret. Part I. The Secret of Life, the Four Truths, and the Noble Eightfold Path;" (5) "The Buddhist Secret. Part II. The Mystic Trance of the Arahatsip;" (6) "The Ideal of the Later Buddhism—the Greater Vehicle and what it means." Professor Rhys Davids is an attractive lecturer, and a learned, yet interesting writer. He will thus introduce a course of yearly lectures which, it is hoped, will attract the attention of educated persons and interest them on these great subjects. Professor Tiele of Leyden has been spoken of as another possible lecturer in the near future. It is exceedingly desirable that such an enterprise be generously supported, so that it may become established on a permanent basis.

Synopses of Important Articles.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—XVII. The Election of Israel.

By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor* for June, 1894, pp. 416-429.

The success of his work among the Gentiles was a source of grief to the apostle; for it either signified the canceling of Israel's election, or proved that his gospel was untrue because rejected by the mass of the elect people. In answer to such representations, he argues, first, that the rejection of Israel is *not* impossible. But rejection does not imply a complete rejection, for there was always an election within the election. And, further, in electing acts, God is free; that what he sovereignly begins, he may sovereignly end. This argument from sovereignty was stated in its bold, unconciliating form because Paul was dealing with proud men who thought the election of their fathers gave them a prescriptive right to divine favor. And, again, that if Israel were rejected, it was her own fault. The apostle charges Israel with an ambition to establish a righteousness which they can regard as their own achievement. Secondly, the rejection is not final. The apostle is moved by patriotism and by hope that is inspired by his own conversion. He lays stress on the mere fact of election, which, he argues, cannot be lightly recalled without loss of dignity to God. Next, the inner circle of the elect is shown to be not an inconsiderable body. But still, with respect to the great majority of Israel, are they doomed to stumble or fall irretrievably? No; for salvation has come to the Gentiles to make unbelieving Jews feel envious at the loss of divine privileges. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of Romans, in which this line of thought is found, were never intended as a contribution to theological controversy. Their theme is the election of a people and not of individuals. Election is pictured as not simply to favor but to function in behalf of others. This was the purpose of the election of Israel. "All Israel shall be saved," he boldly avers, taking courage from Old Testament texts which seem to point that way. The mystery of the future is the ultimate softening of Israel's hard, impenitent heart, so that she shall be willing to be united with converted pagans in one great fellowship of faith, and hope, and worship.

Such profound exegesis as this is very stimulating and robs Paulinism of much of the narrowness that has been so long attributed to it; and, instead of discovering material for men to debate and take sides on, lays bare the truly fundamental facts of God and religion.

C. E. W.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—XVIII. Christ. By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D. *The Expositor* for July, 1894, pp. 32-46.

Paul's conception of Christ's dignity was closely connected with his faith in Christ as the Redeemer. The doctrine of Christ's person is the outgrowth of religious experience, the offspring of the consciousness of personal redemption. Paul's vision showed him Jesus as the Christ. The crucified Christ is then seen to be a vicarious Savior, whose character of vicariousness extended to his whole earthly career. Jesus' whole earthly experience was a long course of self-humiliation, and the redemption he achieved was a redemption by self-humiliation. This involved pre-existence in the form of a moral personality capable of forming a conscious purpose. Jesus' relations to man, the universe, and to God, are, (1) he came into the world by birth, but he knew no sin. His resurrection constituted him the Man from Heaven. He was a real man; a Jew, with Hebrew blood in his veins, and possessing Hebrew idiosyncrasies; but is called, in sharp antithesis to the Adam who caused the fall, the last Adam made into a quickening spirit. (2) As to his relation to the universe, Christ is represented as the firstborn of all creation, the originator of creation as well as its final cause. (3) The titles most often applied to Christ are the Son of God and the Lord. One important element in this doctrine of sonship is that the relationship is ethical in its nature, that is, because of his preëminent measure of the Holy Spirit. But more than the ethical is intended, for Christ is "His own Son" and the "image of God," to which we are to be conformed. As to whether Paul thought of Christ as God, the much disputed passage in Romans 9:5 seems to leave the question in doubt, while the benediction at the close of the Second Corinthians would seem to favor the assumption.

C. E. W.

THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION IN OUR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES. By WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D., in *The Homiletic Review* for October, 1894. Pp. 297-304.

The apostle Paul is our example in his missionary activity, and he made himself familiar with the religious ideas of those whom he addressed. Experience and observation show that it is wiser and cheaper to train intending missionaries in the knowledge of the habits of mind and feeling of the non-Christian peoples to whom they go. Discipline is necessary in missionary effort as in any other kind of warfare. A field should be chosen and studied. This kind of study is embraced in the science of comparative religion Christianity's own child. There is much material collected to serve as the basis for work. Some ten institutions of learning in America are already offering opportunities for students in this department. The three lines along which study must go are the following: (1) the gathering of the facts, in order to know the history of religion. Ethnology is fundamental, on which

the histories of special religions must build. (2) Philosophizing on the basis of these facts. Such work shows the wideness, and yet the unity of religious phenomena. It gives the missionary sympathy, and opens to him a common ground with his hearers. (3) The comparison of religions comes last and on the basis of their history and philosophy. Without this preliminary training, it is misleading to make such comparisons. This work is just beginning to be done with safety and success. But the preacher at home will be benefited by studying comparative religion (*a*) in developing an enthusiasm for humanity, (*b*) in facing without dismay the facts of ethnic faiths, and interpreting them in the light of the Word of God as well as correcting and enlarging the current theology and local religious thinking in their light, (*c*) in disclosing the absolute truth of the rightfully apprehended Word of God.

This article ought to set some people to thinking, and stimulate others to keep on thinking, and to turn thought into action. We wish that the writer had allowed his thoughts to clarify a little and had put them in a more orderly fashion. He would then have made a stronger impression. Doubtless the necessity for condensation has caused the omission of much more that might wisely have been said. G. S. G.

"POWER ON THE HEAD." [I COR. II : 10]. By REV. PROFESSOR A. ROBERTS, D.D., University of St. Andrews, in *The Expositor* for August, 1894.

This passage has been the despair of interpreters. Most attempts at its interpretation do violence to the term *ἐξουσίαν*, replacing it by some term like *ἐξουσία*, *ἐξ οὐσίας*, *κανονίαν*, etc. Often interpreters do equal violence to the expression *διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους*, by substituting other forms or words that give a supposedly more intelligible meaning. But all these conjectures and emendations are worthless. The text is undoubtedly correct.

Paul's thought in the context is not that there is an *essential* inferiority in woman, but that there is a certain *order* in the sexes; man being the glory of God; woman, the glory of man. This fact of subordination is used by Paul to correct a tendency on the part of the women in the church at Corinth to confuse the position of the sexes by laying aside their veils. For the veil in many ancient nations was the symbol of subjection. If a man, therefore, goes to an assembly with his head covered, he appears to subject himself to a woman instead of to his proper head, Christ. But if a woman presents herself in public uncovered, she dishonors her head, the man, by claiming an equality with him, thus in effect throwing aside her modesty.

But this might lead us to expect in vs. 10 some such expression as *emblem of subjection*, instead of *authority*. Authority, however, refers not to man's dignity, but to something that belongs to the woman, *i. e.*, the rightful claim that woman, in her proper place, has to influence and honor. By

her acceptance of her God-assigned position of subordination to man, she has gained a dignity not to be acquired by any foolish attempt at independence. The veil and long hair are emblems of this dignity or authority.

The expression "because of angels" has no reference to Gen. 6:2, but the thought is suggested that the holy angels are present in the religious assemblies of the Christians. The remembrance of this fact should prevent disorderly conduct.

This interpretation is not altogether new, although reached by independent study. It, perhaps, represents the possible meaning of the passage as satisfactorily as any other, but it will hardly meet all objections, especially in the relation of the second clause to the entire thought of the chapter. So far as ridding Paul of the charge of severity towards women, it is less equivocally successful. S. M.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF ASCRIBING DEUTERONOMY TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY, B. C. By F. WATSON, in *The Thinker* for September and October, 1894. Pp. 207-214, 301-307.

Kuenen's position that a law book, as having a more practical aim, must take account of the actual circumstances of the times in which it is written, and hence is a better reflection of its own times than is expected in a prophetic book, is admitted as applying to a book of human law, but the application of such a principle to a divinely given law book cannot be granted, because such a book, while indeed it keeps in view the human circumstances of those to whom it is given, yet aims at an ideal above and beyond the actual practices or even possibilities of its own time, for only thus can it accomplish its object of elevating the people. To say, therefore, that Deuteronomy is a reflection of the religious condition attained in the seventh century, B. C., can argue nothing more than that the nation by that time had at length arrived at the ideals set for it in early times.

But granting Kuenen's principle as applicable, even to a divinely given law book, it is proposed to show that Deuteronomy does not in fact reflect the condition of Israel in the seventh century, B. C., and that, too, though written so largely in that prophetic style in which in the prophets we find many of our most valuable references to local and temporal circumstances.

Israel's history and character between 700 B. C. and 600 B. C. are well known. The book could hardly have been written in the century after Hezekiah without some incidental reference to Assyria and Sennacherib's overthrow. For if in the plan of the book, which precluded reference to present times, there could be an allusion to Solomon, as some hold, why not also to Sennacherib. And again, to warn against Egypt and ignore Assyria, if the purpose was to counteract heathen influences, would be inexplicable in a book written during the Assyrian invasions. If, however, it is admitted that Deut.

28:49 is a description of the Assyrian army, as some hold, it is inconceivable that the writer should stop at that point.

If Solomon may be alluded to for picturing the evils of monarchy, it would be strange that an author in the times of Hezekiah should not seize upon him as an example of a good king and take the opportunity to show how prophet and king (Isaiah and Hezekiah) should work together. It seems impossible then that the book should have been written in the days of Hezekiah.

The expressions of abhorrence of idolatry and its attendant crimes in Deuteronomy give no adequate picture of the terrible and hopeless condition of the nation under Manasseh. So far as it speaks of these abominations, it is too calm, and confident, and hopeful. The sins guarded against are sins that may come in the future, not such as are actually in practice. The law of the kingdom would have been very different if Manasseh's reign had been in view.

Nor was the book composed under Josiah, for making all due allowance for the hope that people saw in the character of the young king, his character, at the time the book must have been composing, was not yet tested, and it was a time of painful uncertainty, in view of the attitude of the powerful neighboring nations. Yet at a time when prophets both true and false made free to give the king political advice of all sorts, this book, so largely prophetic in character, has no special counsel to give to a king in Josiah's difficult position. It thus appears that, historically, the book of Deuteronomy does not reflect the times of Hezekiah, Manasseh, or Josiah.

We next have the doctrinal argument. It is true that Amos and Hosea and even first Isaiah and Micah show little or no trace of Deuteronomy, while Jeremiah is full of it, and Zephaniah and Ezekiel also were evidently influenced by it. But what are the inferences to be drawn from this? It may be inferred without question that Deuteronomy preceded Jeremiah, but where Deuteronomy and the earlier prophets are so independent of each other, no inference can be drawn as to which is older since the argument will work equally well both ways.

But it is said that Deuteronomy shows traces of a more advanced stage of religious development than these earlier prophets. This the writer of the article denies on several grounds. Deuteronomy indeed spiritualizes the ceremonial law, but the earlier prophets have already left the ceremonial law behind. Deuteronomy speaks of God's watchful care over Israel, the prophets of his providence and rule as universal. There is no Messianic teaching in Deuteronomy as in Isaiah, and Jehovah's relation to Israel is not so tender and close as in Hosea. Deuteronomy presents the doctrine of the Holy People as does also Isaiah, but the "holiness" of Deuteronomy is ceremonial and moral only, while that of Isaiah is moral and spiritual.

Finally, the teaching of Jeremiah, though making much use of Deuteronomy and largely imbued with its spirit, is against the theory that he had

any part in its composition or was even cognizant of its preparation, as a man of his position must have been had it been the product of the prophetic priestly party of his time. In the matter of public worship especially, Jeremiah moves on an independent line and could hardly have been a party to the central-sanctuary idea. In other respects, too, he is sufficiently independent to show that while he values the book, he is not an advocate of all its teachings, and therefore could not have had a part in its composition, much less in an attempt to make it as a literary fiction pass for genuine Mosaic legislation.

The article is a strong and interesting setting of the principal arguments for an earlier date for Deuteronomy. Its strongest argument is that from the doctrinal teaching, for the strength of the historical argument depends mainly upon the question how far a careful author, with a sufficient motive, can in a literary fiction avoid giving it a coloring from his own time. If the book was produced in the time of Josiah with the purpose that the critics claim, it was essential that it should not reflect the times of Josiah and we cannot say *a priori* that an author could not so compose his work as to accomplish this. For the sake of argument, it is unfortunate that the writer at the beginning, as the conservative writers are apt to do, makes a distinction between human law and divine law. For by thus introducing the distinctly supernatural, he at once takes the subject quite out of the range of argument, since there can be no argument as to how much may or may not be done by supernatural interference. The arguments presented are sufficiently strong of themselves not to need the support of such an appeal to the supernatural, and the candor and temperate tone of the entire article commend it even to those who have reached an opposite conclusion.

D. A. W.

THE RESURRECTION of JESUS. By ALBERT REVILLE, in *The New World* for September, 1894.

The essential and permanent element in Christianity is the Christian ideal—filial faith in God, and the brotherhood of man. It is a mistake, therefore, to seek the foundation of the Christian religion in the bodily resurrection of Jesus, historically important as is the belief in such an event. But this belief in his bodily resurrection was not so much the foundation as the result of the faith of the disciples. (1) The comparison of the Gospel narratives discloses hopeless discrepancies and contradictions. The different versions of the women's visit do not agree. The disciples did not expect a bodily resurrection, notwithstanding the Gospels as we now have them contain predictions of the event. In fact, there are to be detected two currents of oral tradition in the Gospel narratives: one, localizing the appearances of Jesus in Galilee; the other, localizing the appearances in Jerusalem. The first is to be found in Proto-Mark, the first Gospel, and the fourth; the second, in Luke 24 and John 20.

The Galilee tradition is not based upon unimpeachable testimony that the

appearances of Jesus were corporeal. Why should there have been those who doubted? To the religious Jews of the period there was nothing improbable in a resurrection. Does this not indicate that according to the eagerness of the anticipation did the apparition seem concrete? And why should the disciples have feared to ask "Who art thou?" knowing that it was the Lord? Further, why should the account of John speak of the lake, and that of Matthew of the mountain?

The Jerusalem traditions have also discrepant features, but this one common element: the disciples get from women the first suggestion of the resurrection. To this group, in addition to the appearances mentioned in the Gospels, belong those mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor. 15: 5-7 (the oldest testimony we possess). But these present more points of difference than likeness. The Emmaus episode, with its succession of feints on the part of the Unknown, as well as the stories of the appearance of Jesus in the upper room, indicate the fear, and the subsequent, though difficult, growth of conviction that marked the attitude of the disciples.

Taken together the two groups of tradition are absolutely irreconcilable. Indeed there seem to have circulated in the primitive Christian communities numerous incoherent traditions concerning the resurrection. But if harmony is impossible, it is possible to disengage the central and fundamental phenomenon of which all these traditions are more or less echoes.

(2) What then is the common phenomenon? Not that alleged by "common rationalism"—a swooning, revived, and hermit Jesus. Jesus certainly died. And then, too, the tomb was on the second day after the crucifixion, found empty. Who took the body of Jesus? Not the disciples, for they did not expect a resurrection. The body of Jesus was stolen and concealed or destroyed by the Jews, very probably the chiefs of the Sanhedrin. Their motive was the desire to prevent his tomb becoming a place of pious pilgrimage for the Galileans. The early Christians, once persuaded that Jesus had risen would not investigate the disposition made of their Master's body. The only exception among the disciples may have been Joseph of Arimathea, who perhaps knowing or suspecting the theft, could not so firmly believe in the resurrection, and therefore disappears from the Gospel narrative.

Not only was the resurrection unexpected by the disciples, but Jesus himself expected neither resurrection nor crucifixion. He suspected danger and tried to guard against it, but he did not deem it fitting to leave Jerusalem during the feast. It was the treason of Judas that changed the order of events. Jesus did not even expect to be arrested at the exact time at which the misfortune occurred. Why did he say to his disciples on the way, "After I have risen, I will go before you into Galilee"? We know that he could not really have been speaking to them of his resurrection. He simply was appointing a rendezvous in Galilee.

Thus the origin of the story of the resurrection was as follows: the women find the tomb empty; intuitively perceive that Jesus was alive; their

mental super-excitement takes form in the shape of angels; they tell the disciples who at first disbelieve, but find the women are correct at least in saying that the tomb is empty; they remember the rendezvous in Galilee and immediately set out thither, profoundly moved by doubt and hope; the sight of the familiar mountains and lake so awake the enthusiasm of some that they seem to see their Master; this ecstasy becomes contagious; after their return to Jerusalem the apostles have apparitions during forty days; the apparitions cease because the mental crisis cannot be prolonged; the last apparition becomes the "ascension." This account is strengthened by the fact that the appearance of Jesus to Paul was subjective, and yet according to 1 Cor. 15:3-8, was of the same general nature as the appearances of the Gospels.

The fact that historic Christianity is thus founded upon an illusion should not cause spiritual depression. The history of the Christian church does not set out from the material fact of the resurrection, but from the faith of the disciples in him who had conquered them morally. The visions themselves contained a profound philosophic truth—they show the prophetic element in man; his immortal destiny; and above all, the feeling of his own immortality inspired in his disciples by the Son of Man.

The problem which M. Reville seeks to explain is as complicated as it is vital to Christian faith. Any new light upon its difficulties is to be welcomed most heartily by the student of the New Testament. M. Reville, with considerable acumen, though not always with sufficient freedom from bias, has analyzed our Gospel accounts of the resurrection into component *logia*. But further than this it does not appear that he has added any important element to the final solution of the difficulties involved. His attempt to build the belief in the resurrection upon the theft of the body of Jesus by the Jews has the merit of novelty, but is hardly likely to gain general acceptance. It is inexplicable that if this had been really the case, some charge to that effect should not have appeared in the anti-Christian writings of the Jews. It would certainly have been a most effective weapon against the early church. The exposure of inconsistencies in the Gospels by no means supplies the explanation sought. The great problem of the "common fact" is still to be answered. M. Reville's exposition of this fact reads like those of a generation before Keim, and can have little force with those acquainted with the latter's criticism of similar theories.

S. M.

Notes and Opinions.

Atonement and Reconciliation.—*The Expository Times* for September explains the difference of meaning between these two words as used in theology today. Atonement is the means, reconciliation is the result. An illustration is taken from Professor Stearns' *Present Day Theology*: "The sinner is separated from God by his guilt, and under punishment. How shall he be brought back? What is needed is reconciliation. It takes two to make a quarrel, it also takes two to make up a quarrel. Now, between man and God, as between man and man, there can be no reconciliation without atonement. Some amends must be made for the wrong done, some reparation rendered, some satisfaction given. This opens the way for reconciliation, and affords a just ground for it." But when the Authorized Version was made, nearly three hundred years ago, the two words "atonement" and "reconciliation" were synonymous, so that we have *katallagē* in Rom. 5 : 11 translated in the Authorized Version "atonement," but in the Revised Version properly changed to "reconciliation." This difference in the meaning of the terms should be more carefully noted in theological and homiletical discourse.

The Gospel of Peter.—A recent article by Rev. John Macpherson reaches the following conclusions concerning this interesting document: "There seems indeed to be nothing in this fragment to warrant the supposition that the Gospel of Peter was deliberately prepared with the object of favoring a docetic heresy. It is the work of one who had before him our four Gospels, which he knew to be generally accepted as authoritative. From these, therefore, he drew his materials, giving, however, free play to his imagination in grouping, explaining, and amplifying the statement of facts thus obtained. Some peculiarities of personal taste and feeling are probably enough to account for the legendary additions and corresponding modifications of facts and arrangements by which his work is differentiated from the canonical Gospels. Though extremely interesting as a specimen of an early free paraphrase of the evangelical narrative, it furnishes no additional detail such as we might expect from a history made up of selections from sources from which the selection known to us in the four Gospels was made. The want of any steady aim in its divergences from the authoritative sources of church teaching, what we might call its whimsicality, rendered it unacceptable to any considerable body either within or without the church."

Sin without the Body.—The difficult passage 1 Cor. 6 : 18, "Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication

sinneth against his own body," is discussed by Rev. A. Robertson, D.D., in *The Thinker* for August. The words of this verse, he says, are added to strengthen, sharpen, intensify the abrupt imperative of the preceding verse, "Flee fornication." "Sinneth *against* [not *in*, or *by means of*] his own body" means, in view of verse 13 ("the body for the Lord and the Lord for the body"), to defraud one's own body of its part in Christ, to cut it off from its eternal destiny. This fornication does in a unique degree. St. Paul is speaking relatively, and by way of comparison. No other sin so directly alienates the body from Christ, its life and its goal. In Matt. 12:31 Jesus gives a similar character to the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. Neither there nor here is the meaning to be pressed beyond its purpose to an absolute sense. But our Lord is laying down that sin against the Spirit is so incomparably less pardonable than any other that by comparison with it they may be regarded as venial. The same may be true of other sins in given cases, of which Paul seems to state one. He merely asserts that other sins stop short of the baleful import of sensual sin with its direct onslaught on the dominant principle, "the body for the Lord."

The Effect of Inspiration.—A correspondent to *The Sunday School Times* has the idea that inspiration produced in the minds of the New Testament writers a *first-hand* knowledge of all the facts that they have recorded, so that they were not dependent upon anyone for their information about things which they themselves did not witness. He demands that Bible statements of fact be accepted without any attempt to prove their accuracy or show their reasonableness. With an admirable patience the editor of the *Times* replies that the exact meaning of inspiration has never been defined in any of the church standards, and there could be no agreement upon a definition among theologians today. "It is easy, however, to say what inspiration does not mean, and what we ought not to understand it to include. Inspiration does not enable a man to make up facts to record as true, while it can enable him to know the difference between veritable facts and mental fancies. Moses was inspired so as to use aright the wisdom of the Egyptians that he had gained by study and experience in Egypt. Paul was inspired so as to use aright the stores of rabbinical learning that he had acquired in his Jewish studies. Luke was inspired so as to tell the truths that he had traced accurately from the testimony of eyewitnesses concerning Jesus and his ministry, as he says himself in the beginning of his Gospel. Luke does not say that he was inspired to know historic facts which were not given to him by eyewitnesses, or from other authentic sources, as veritable history; and we have no reason to think that he was."

Paul's Teaching as to the Second Coming of Christ.—In this second article of his series in *The Expositor* Professor J. A. Beet, D.D., says: "The second coming of Christ can scarcely be reckoned among the great funda-

mental doctrines of the gospel as St. Paul understood it. In the systematic exposition of that gospel given in the Epistle to the Romans it has no prominent place; and it receives only casual mention in the profound Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians. But, while occupying only a subordinate place, it is an essential part (Rom. 2 : 16) of the gospel of Paul." "Paul was looking for a definite time when Christ will audibly and visibly return from heaven to earth, to raise his dead servants, to welcome all his servants dead and living into endless and blessed intercourse with himself, and to destroy all who refuse to obey the gospel." "He puts himself (1 Cor. 15 : 51 ; 1 Thess. 4 : 15) among those who will survive the coming of Christ," which "implies fairly that the apostle did not know that long ages would elapse between his own day and the day of Christ." "The wonderfully rapid progress of the kingdom of God during the last twenty-five or thirty years permitted a hope that the remaining years of his life might suffice for the appearance and short reign of the man of sin, and for his destruction by the appearance of Christ. In any case, St. Paul's hope of himself surviving the coming of Christ, which finds indefinite expression only in these two passages, is no essential part of his plain and abundant and conspicuous teaching that Christ will return to raise the dead and to judge all men."

Is Joel a Unity?—Mr. Vernon Bartlett, in *The Expository Times* for September, urges several things which indicate dual authorship of this book : (1) There is no *inherent* connection between chaps. 1 : 1–2 : 27 and 2 : 28–3 : 21 (the first two and the last two chapters in the Hebrew). (2) There are certain points of *apparent* affinity between the two parts which might lead to their juxtaposition by the second author or editor, a not unusual method in dealing with earlier prophecies. (3) Under a dual authorship the meaning given to "the day of the Lord" in the first section (2 : 1 f) has received a deeper and larger meaning as expounded by the author of the second section (2 : 28, 31 ; 3 : 1 f). The very heart of the difficulty is that one cannot see the calamity of the earlier part of our book blend into and fuse with that which is the background of the later portion. (4) There are certain phases that are peculiar to each portion, *e. g.*, "Judah and Jerusalem" are prominent in the second section, but totally absent from the first. For the simple "Zion" of the first part we find in the second part "Mount Zion and Jerusalem." And the "children of Judah" become the explicit subject of deliverance as the "true children of Israel." (5) The main argument against a dual origin would rest on the degree of unity in style prevailing the book. But one might infer that the comparative unity of style in Joel is due to a common dependence upon earlier models—a dependence, however, which is less marked in the first than in the second section ; which fact would suggest that the first section was the earlier in date, arising before the habitual study of the prophetic classics had had its full effect. (6) This theory of two post-exilic constituent elements, the one earlier by an indeterminate period than the other, helps to

remove almost the last objection that can be urged by upholders of the ninth century theory, which has itself for some time served rather as a refuge from critical extravagances than as a satisfying basis for exegesis.

Recent Catacomb Finds.—Professor Marbuchi has recently issued his report of new catacomb discoveries made in Rome, of which quite a number are of great interest for the history of early Christian art. In the catacomb S. Ermete, one of the oldest of catacombs, but only recently discovered, situated about one-half hour from the Porta Pinciana on the old Via Salaria, the remains of a subterranean Basilica have been found containing a number of burial galleries. This catacomb, starting with the burial of the martyr Hermes, a victim of the persecution of Hadrian, was enlarged during the second and third centuries. The name of its first saint had, up to the present, been discovered only in fragment, namely the word "Herme," on an inscription dating from the days of Pope Damasus. Now, however, in the right of the apsis of the Basilica, a square room of much older construction, and with a marble floor, has been discovered, and in it the remains of an old grave, inlaid with marble. This is regarded as the grave of Hermes. With greater certainty the graves of two other martyrs, Prothus and Hyacinthus, have been identified, the names being discovered in a fresco picture of the sixth century. In this room have also been found portions of a poem by the presbyter Theodorus, cut in marble, as also an inscription stating that a certain Felix had built the structure erected over this tomb. In another portion of this chamber pictures of the third century were found representing scenes from the scripture narratives, such as the feeding of the five thousand, the sacrifice of Isaac, the youths in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the lion's den. Above the entrance is a veiled female figure symbolizing the soul. Noteworthy, on one of these pictures, are three fishes, the well-known monogram of Christ, but here grouped in a way never before seen on old Christian monuments. The galleries here unearthed date from the third and fourth centuries, and contain a large number of inscriptions. New and interesting mural pictures have also been found in the so-called Greek chapel of the catacombs of Saint Priscilla, which is still older than that of Hermes, and contains the grave of the consul Acilius Glabrio, a martyr of the first century. This find was made by Monsignore Wiepert, and dates back to the first half of the second century. Its pictures include also the resurrection of Lazarus and an "Agape" or love feast of the early Christians.

G. H. S.

The Two-document Hypothesis in the Synoptic Problem.—Dr. Gloag presents this theory of two written sources underlying our first three Gospels, in the September issue of *The Thinker*. It is the theory most favored today, advocated by Reuss, Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Weiss, Wendt, Beyschlag, Resch, Paul Ewald, Sanday, and others. Professor Holtzmann postulates as

the main sources of our Synoptic Gospels (1) the preaching of Peter given by Mark, which he formerly regarded as an earlier and fuller document than our canonical second Gospel, but now thinks it may have been the same; (2) the *Logia*, or collection of the Oracles of the Lord, compiled by Matthew, not our canonical first Gospel. This document he thinks was restricted to the sayings of Jesus. (However, others maintain that the term *Logia* may also include a narrative element, so that the document was not unlike our Gospels — so Bleek, Zahn, Lightfoot). Professor Weiss gives prominence to Matthew, postulating that Mark not only used the notes of Peter's preaching, but had access also to Matthew's *Logia*. The two documents therefore, in his view, are (1) the *Logia* of Matthew, the earlier; and (2) the notes of Peter's preaching. The three canonical Gospels are all composite, inserting these two documents in different proportions. Professor Wendt postulates (1) a Gospel of Mark, the earliest of the Gospels, consisting chiefly of the oral evangelical discourses of Peter, and used in the composition of both our first and third Gospels; (2) the *Logia* of Matthew, which underlies our present Matthew and Luke, and the text of which Dr. Wendt undertakes to reconstruct from these two Gospels. Professor Sanday holds that there was (1) a primitive record of incidents of the life of Christ, most nearly represented now by our Gospel of Mark, and whose exact relation thereto is yet to be worked out; (2) the *Logia* of Matthew, containing chiefly the sayings of Christ, which sayings and discourses were employed in the composition of the present Matthew and Luke, and the present first Gospel is the work of another than Matthew, though rightly bearing that apostle's name because it incorporated his work. To this two-document hypothesis for the solution of the so-called Synoptic problem, which has found so large acceptance with scholars, Dr. Gloag does not himself subscribe, because he does not believe that two such important and renowned documents as the alleged Ur-Marcus and Ur-Matthæus could have been lost had they once existed. He thinks that the well-known statement of Papias, recorded by Eusebius, that "Matthew wrote the oracles (*Logia*) in the Hebrew language," may be discredited, or may be referred to the present first Gospel, which in that case he would probably hold was written both in Aramaic and in Greek.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

Local Chapters—The following topics to be used at Chapter meetings during November are suggested. Care should be taken to select such subjects as will make a complete and rounded programme, that is, touching every side of the subject. Not more than five subjects and a map drill should be upon any one programme :

1. A map study—Jerusalem in the time of Christ.
2. Traces of Ancient Jerusalem in the modern city. Sites probable, and sites beyond dispute.
3. The work of the Palestine Exploration Society.
4. Samaria—a geographical study.
5. The Sanhedrin as a political power.
6. The priesthood,—origin, history, position in the time of Christ.
7. The foreshadowings of Christ as the Great High Priest, found in the Old Testament.
8. The Scribes as interpreters of the Law.
9. The making of an Old Testament manuscript.
10. Hillel and Shammai.
11. The relations of Christ and the Scribes.
12. The temple,—its construction,—illustrate with diagrams.
13. A day in the temple.
14. Reading of Psalm 24.
15. The synagogue,—origin, location, purposes, the service.
16. The Pharisees,—personal life, beliefs, and political influence.
17. The "Zealots,"—personal life, beliefs, and political influence.
18. The Sadducees,—personal life, beliefs, and political influence.
19. The Essenes,—personal life, beliefs, and political influence.
20. "The Messiah of Jewish Expectation."
21. The Septuagint.
22. Relations of Jews and Gentiles in the dispersion.
23. Proselytes to Judaism.
24. The Jewish betrothal and marriage customs.
25. Jewish burial customs,—illustrated from the New Testament.
26. Jewish philosophy concerning "After Death."
27. The "Dignity of Labor" among the Jews.
28. Trade and the financial system.

29. Dress and adornment.
30. The "Tephillin."
31. The "Halachah" and the "Haggadah."
32. The Talmuds.

For list of Books for supplementary reading consult the BIBLICAL WORLD for October.

New Members—Although the work of the Guild commenced October 1st, members will be received at any time. As the course is planned to occupy but nine months of each year there will be ample time in July, August, and September to complete the work.

In regard to the admission of new members to local Chapters, however, the Chapters themselves should decide. Although the work of a Chapter should not be imperiled by the constant admission of new members who are unprepared to go on with the course, it should always be remembered that if compelled to work alone such persons may lose interest and drop the reading altogether. Purely literary study of the Bible is, after all, an impossibility to the majority of the people. The study of a book so closely linked with the religious life of the human race must be in a certain sense a religious work, and it is not possible to throw around such study the exclusiveness which might wisely govern a circle of readers of a secular course. It is hoped, therefore, that all Chapters will continually seek new members.

A Chapter in a church.—In almost all churches there is a nucleus of people, small perhaps, who are interested in topics of the day, and who do not exclude from this term inology religious topics. It is also true that such people, while having access to good libraries on secular subjects, have no such facilities in connection with religious literature. The minister if able to keep his library up to the times, has constant use for it and cannot conveniently share his books. The Guild, therefore, comes to minister and people with the best books on a specific subject, and special suggestions for reading them. An effort is made to select those books which are readable and interesting from any standpoint. Portions of the Bible itself are a part of each year's work. Could not this be a common meeting ground for minister and people, breaking down the invisible wall made by the preacher's seemingly inaccessible knowledge, and giving him intelligent listeners,—those who could think along the same channels with himself?

A Chapter outside the church.—It has been matter for surprise to the founders of the Guild that not a few outside the creeds of the churches have taken up the course. This seems to indicate that among non-Christians there is a new interest abroad in what is said in the book which has influenced the ages. We as Christians believe that the Bible needs only intelligent study and examination to insure its acceptance. Let us then, as members of the Guild, take immediately in hand the organization of Chapters outside the churches, in literary clubs, in workingmen's organizations, and wherever opportunity opens. Let us see that through some library or reading-room

every person in the town has access to the books. No man is ashamed to read books concerning his *physical* well-being or for his *intellectual* improvement. Let us make it a matter of course to read for the cultivation of the *religious* side of man's nature as well.

The monthly assignment of reading for the year is given below. There may be slight variations from this, but such will be noticed in the Postal Bulletin of the month in which the variations occur.

October.

Seidel—*In the Times of Jesus*, pp. 1-93.

Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 1-138.

BIBLICAL WORLD (July) Geography of Palestine.

(August) Editorials and Geography of Palestine.

November.

Seidel—*In the Times of Jesus*, pp. 93-192.

Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 138-295.

BIBLICAL WORLD (September, October) Editorials.

Geography of Palestine.

December.

Harmony—Parts I., II., III.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 1-149.

BIBLICAL WORLD (November, December) Geography of Palestine.

Introduction to Gospels, I.

January.

Harmony—Parts IV. and V.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 149-298.

BIBLICAL WORLD (January) Introduction to Gospels, II.

Teachings of Jesus, I.

February.

Harmony—Part VI., and Chapter XXV. of Part VII.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 299-402.

BIBLICAL WORLD (February) Introduction to Gospels, III.

Teachings of Jesus, II.

March.

Harmony—Part VII., from Chapter XXVI.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 403-491.

BIBLICAL WORLD (March) Introduction to Gospels, IV.

Teachings of Jesus, III.

April.

Harmony—Part VIII.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 493-776.

BIBLICAL WORLD (April) Teachings of Jesus, IV.

May.

Harmony—Part IX.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 777-861.

Bushnell—*Character of Jesus*.

BIBLICAL WORLD (May) Teachings of Jesus, V.

June.

Brooks — *Influence of Jesus.*

BIBLICAL WORLD (June) Teachings of Jesus, VI.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

Already the Reading Guild has extended its work beyond the limits of the United States and Canada. The following have been enrolled this month:

Miss Lydia Dorey, Northfield, W. Birmingham, England; Rev. Thomas Fellow Faulkner, Aldershot, England; Rev. Thomas I. Porter, Brazil, South America; Miss Gertrude Cozad, Kobe, Japan; Rev. J. H. Scott, Osaka, Japan; Miss Mattie Walton, Osaka, Japan; Mr. William Wynd, Osaka, Japan; Miss Martha E. Kelly, Osaka, Japan; Edward C. Machle, M.D., Canton, China.

Not the least important work which has been accomplished by the Reading Guild thus far is that of rescuing from oblivion a valuable book — Seidel's "In the Times of Jesus." This book was out of print when it was selected for the course. An attempt to secure a new edition from the publisher resulted in the discovery that the book had last been printed in England and that the plates had been destroyed. Messrs. A. D. F. Randolph & Co., of New York City, volunteered to set up and print a new edition. The first copies were ready late in August, and since that time it has been necessary to prepare a second edition. The book is the first upon the course of the Guild, and gives in small compass a most excellent general view of the political, social, and religious conditions in the time of Jesus.

Bible Clubs.—The following recommendations of the Bible Club Course have been received:

From Mrs. Margaret Bottome, President of the Order of The King's Sons and Daughters.

"Such a course as you have outlined is certain to be helpful. I hope members of 'The King's Daughters' will be enrolled among those that pursue the studies."

Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, General Secretary of the same order: "The Bible Study Course prepared by the American Institute of Sacred Literature for organizations for Christian work supplies the needs that must be apparent to the leaders in all such societies as ours. These needs are, unity, a systematic development of Biblical information, a plan that shall give the largest results for the least expenditure of time, and such practical application of truth as leads the learner naturally from knowledge to character.

"So many of our own members have found the previous courses of infinite value that the new course will naturally find among them a cordial welcome. We can give the purpose, the plan, and the execution most cordial endorsement."

Dr. Francis E. Clark, President of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor :

"The course of Bible study suggested by the American Institute, for Christian Endeavor societies and similar organizations, seems to me admirably suited to the purpose designed. It is simple, flexible, and can be hopelessly undertaken by any young person, however busy; and if he carries through this course of study for one year he will become far more proficient in biblical lore, to say the least, than the average Christian. I hope that many thousands will take this course."

Mrs. Ellen Drummond Farwell, Chairman International Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association :

"We are about to publish a course of study issued by the American Institute of Sacred Literature in our Association paper, the *Evangel*. [The course in the *Evangel* is supplementary to the Outline Club Course, Editor.] I am glad to be able to say that this Outline Bible Club Course, as planned by the American Institute of Sacred Literature for organizations for Christian work, seems admirably adapted to stimulate the study without doing all the work for the student. We believe it will meet the wants of many of our young women."

Of the fifty-three clubs for the study of the Foreshadowings of the Christ which have been formed during the past month the following have over thirty members each :

Wickersham School, Pittsburg, Pa., Miss Mary Wightman, President.

St. Paul's Church, Indianapolis, Ind., Rev. G. A. Carstensen, Leader.

Danville, Ind., Mrs. Otis C. Hadley, Leader.

Sterling, Ill., Mr. Geo. P. Perry, Leader.

Many others come very near to this number. Much of the most profitable work is done in the clubs which have only a half dozen members, or less. An interesting club of this character has been formed by some of the office employés of the Monon Railroad. The students meet to discuss the work one afternoon each week, in the office after working hours.

One thousand persons are now at work on the course, and it is confidently expected that this number will be quadrupled before January first.

Work and Workers.

THE chair of Biblical Literature at Williams College, made vacant by the resignation of Dr. Bartlett, is now occupied by Dr. FITE, formerly of Harvard University.

THE London Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which recently published Professor Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, has undertaken the publication of another progressive work, the forthcoming *Les Origines*, by Maspero. Professor Sayce will edit this English translation.

AN article which should be read by all was contributed by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., to *The Sunday School Times* for August 18th. It treats of *Archæology as a Factor in Old Testament Study*. It places the reader in the right attitude toward the information which is constantly coming to us from the study of peoples, customs and institutions which were outside of but exerted an influence upon the Hebrew nation.

THE October number of *The Expository Times* contains the sixth and last of Professor A. B. DAVIDSON'S valuable articles upon the *Theology of Isaiah 1-39*. Later on he will contribute a series presenting the *Theology of Isaiah 40-66*, which will be awaited with interest. Meanwhile we are promised that other scholars will provide similar discussions of other books of the Bible. Such material in a magazine makes it of permanent value on the reference shelves.

THE third volume of Professor H. B. SWETE'S edition of the Septuagint will be published by Macmillans very soon. He is preparing a short, popular Handbook to the Septuagint, and will write the article upon the Septuagint for the new *Dictionary of the Bible* to be issued by Clarks. In a recent note concerning lexicons upon the Greek versions of the Old Testament, Professor Swete says we have only Schleusner's *Thesaurus* (Lips., 1820-21) and Wahl's *Clavis* (Lips., 1853), neither of them at all up to date. The defects may be partly supplied by a diligent use of the new Hatch-Redpath *Concordance to the Septuagint*. We think with him that "the time has now almost come for an attempt on the part of some scholar or band of scholars to provide a satisfactory lexicon and grammar for the Septuagint, based upon the great uncial manuscripts which are now within our reach." But the chief Septuagint scholars of today are in England—are they not the ones to assume this arduous yet glorious task?

A NEW volume of essays by KUENEN has been published in a German translation, edited by Professor Karl Budde, the title of which is *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft*. The contents are made up of

six lectures contributed between 1866 and 1890 to the Dutch Academy of Science, and of reviews contributed to periodicals since 1885, the time when the new edition of his *Onderzoek* was issued. In the main they are concerned with questions of Hexateuchal criticism, but there are also papers upon other topics, such as the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Composition of the Sanhedrin, the Pedigree of the Massoretic Text, Hugo Grotius as an Expositor of the Old Testament, the *Melecheth* of Heaven in Jeremiah, and the Chronology of the Persian Period of Jewish History. The preface to the book contains Kuenen's two well-known essays on the Critical Method. Professor G. A. Smith, reviewing this volume in *The Expositor* for August, pronounces it to be of great importance and value, an indispensable supplement to the author's larger works. It is so.

THIS month will bring the publication of Professor A. B. BRUCE's study of the Pauline Theology, under the title, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*. Although the material has already appeared, chapter by chapter, in *The Expositor*, it will reach the general public only in book form. This latest work of Professor Bruce's will be just as indispensable to the biblical student as is each of his previous books. It will take its place immediately by the side of the writings of Pfeiderer, Weiss, Sabatier and Stevens, and will contribute much to the fuller and truer understanding of Paulinism. The department of study called Biblical Theology is a new science, but as regards the New Testament we have already a library of magnificent treatises. The Old Testament department is not yet so well represented, but the many books upon the teaching of the prophets, the work of Schultz and the forthcoming work of Professor Davidson upon the Theology of the Old Testament will go far toward supplying the lack. Biblical Theology must wait upon the study of Biblical Languages and Biblical History, but although it is the last it is the greatest.

IT is an excellent practice which our theological seminaries are more and more adopting, of inviting to this country for the giving of courses of lectures the most eminent English scholars of the Bible. If American scholarship sometimes suffers by comparison it can only result in good, namely, the raising of the standard of scholarship in this country, and the inspiration of young and old instructors alike to intenser activity and greater achievement. Three institutions have combined to invite Professor W. M. RAMSAY, M.A., of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, to come and lecture before them this Fall—Harvard University, Union Theological Seminary, and Auburn Theological Seminary. Much interest in and appreciation of Professor Ramsay's work has been awakened everywhere by his recent book upon *The Church in the Roman Empire before 170 A. D.*, adding to his reputation for biblical scholarship which he had already won by his earlier book on the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*. Other institutions than these three ought, if possible, to meet and listen to this eminent Scotch scholar. The subject of his lectures

this Fall in America will be: "St. Paul's Travels—the Narrative, its Authorship and Date." The same series will be subsequently given at Oxford, and then published in book form.

ONLY five months ago the religious world welcomed a new *Concordance to the Bible*, the crowning life work of Rev. JAMES STRONG, S.T.D., LL.D. He, assisted by many skillful workers, had been engaged in its preparation for thirty-six years. A few weeks after its publication he was taken sick, and died August 7th at Round Lake, N. Y., at the age of seventy-two. Dr. Strong was one of the most eminent scholars in his denomination, the Methodist Episcopal, and had had a long, conspicuous and successful career as a biblical teacher and writer. He was a graduate of Wesleyan University in 1844. In 1858 he was appointed to the professorship of biblical literature and acting presidency of Troy University. Ten years later he became professor of exegetical theology in Drew Theological Seminary at Madison, N. J., a position which he occupied for many years. He had traveled extensively in Bible lands, and was at one time chairman of the Archæological Council of the Oriental Society. He was also a member of the Anglo-American Commission for the Revision of the English Version of the Bible in 1881. Among several published works his most useful contributions are the *Concordance* just referred to, and his part in the *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*, of which he was joint editor with Dr. McClintock.

THERE is no force so strong today in theological thought and investigation in Germany as the teaching of Professor ALBRECHT RITSCHL, who died in 1889. His school is represented by many of the most distinguished scholars in the chairs of German universities, among them Professors Kaftan of Berlin and Hermann of Marburg as theologians, Harnack of Berlin as historian, and Achelis of Marburg in the practical field. The conflict between this school and that of Protestant orthodoxy is radical and intense, with the outcome not yet clear. It is, therefore, a system of teaching or movement which should be well understood. Two very valuable articles upon the Ritschl school have recently appeared, to which attention is here directed. The first is by Professor Geo. H. Schodde, Ph.D., in the *New York Independent* of Sept. 6th. He reviews concisely the personnel, the literature, and the influence of the school, and discusses with disapproval the leading theological tenets and temper of the Ritschlians. The second is by Professor James Orr, D.D., of Edinburgh, in *The Expository Times* for September. Neither does this article sympathize with the school, but it discusses the ideas and teaching of Ritschl at greater length and depth, with insight, skill and wisdom. Together they give a very helpful and trustworthy exposition and criticism of Ritschlianism.

No one who is at all acquainted with the present state of New Testament textual criticism can suppose that we have as yet obtained a final text, a *textus*

ab omnibus receptus. The eighth edition of Tischendorf's text, the text of Westcott and Hort, the Revisers' text, not to speak of many others, have their many differences, for which an adjustment is yet to be found. One scholar gives greater weight to the readings of one manuscript, and another to those of another, so that we seem far from a final text. Still different views of the importance and relation of the various manuscripts may produce still different texts from those we have, and texts which may demand our attention no less than the chief ones now in evidence. Such an independent text is now in preparation by Professor BERNHARD WEISS, whose contributions to New Testament knowledge have hardly been equaled by any scholar. He is eminently fitted for the work he has undertaken. This revised text will be published in three volumes (Leipzig, Hinrichs), and the first volume is now out, containing the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. Henceforth this text also must be reckoned with, and Dr. Weiss will doubtless be found to have contributed not a little to the ultimate text. Of course the variations of reading among the several prominent texts are comparatively few, and, from a practical point of view, quite unimportant. In this respect New Testament textual criticism is in advance of and more fortunate than that of the Old Testament. Nevertheless, the studies concerning the New Testament have more than a scholastic interest and bearing.

THE distinguished German scholar, Professor HEINRICH KARL BRUGSCH, died at Berlin, Sept. 10. He was sixty-seven years of age. The department of Egyptological study has lost much by his death. Professor Brugsch had attained a world-wide reputation by his researches on the subject of hieroglyphics. He was born in Berlin, Feb. 18, 1827, and before leaving the gymnasium evinced his fondness for Egyptological studies by a Latin treatise in 1847 on the demotic writing. His early publications procured for him the patronage of King Frederick William IV., under whose auspices he studied the monuments of Egyptian antiquity in the museums of Paris, London, Turin, and Leyden. In 1853 he made his first visit to Egypt, and was present at some of the most important excavations conducted under the supervision of the French archæologist, M. Mariette. Returning to Berlin he was appointed keeper of the Egyptian Museum there in 1854. In 1860 he accompanied Baron Minutoli on his embassy to Persia, and after the death of the Baron he himself assumed the direction of the embassy. Subsequently he was appointed Ordinary Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Göttingen, and in 1868 Ordinary Professor in the Philosophical Faculty of the same university. In September of 1869 he returned to Egypt and succeeded M. Mariette as keeper of the Egyptian collection at Boulak. He received the title of Bey, and afterward that of Pasha. In September, 1881, he left Egypt in order to give a course of lectures on Egyptology at the University of Berlin. He had published a large number of learned works on the language, literature, and antiquities of Egypt.

Book Reviews.

The Expository Times. Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Volume IV. October, 1892–September, 1893. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pages 1–568. Price \$3.00.

There can be no question that *The Expository Times* has accomplished much for the more intelligent Bible knowledge, especially on the other side of the ocean. We wish that its circulation in America might be greater than it is. In the names of its contributors, in the wide range of subjects which it treats, in the book reviews which it presents, and in the text which it illustrates, it furnishes to the preacher assistance of a kind which no homiletical magazine can possibly be expected to provide. In brightness and freshness it is not excelled. It furnishes an example of what can be accomplished in a particular line with a definite object in view. It seems fragmentary to the scholar, but the scholar must remember that unless there is some one to present in the more popular way the results of scholarship, the highest end of scholarship will not be attained.

W. R. H.

Plain Introductions to the Books of the Bible. Volume I. Old Testament Introductions. Edited by CHARLES JOHN ELLICOTT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Pages i. to 358. Cassell & Co. Limited. Price \$1.00.

The introductions of this book are reprints of the introductions which form parts of the Bible Commentary. No changes have been made; in part because some of the authors had died; in part also because the book could not have been published at so early a date. It is suggested that although these introductions were written some time ago "little, if anything, save a few of the over-bold hypotheses of recent days, could be considered to be unknown" to others. Among the names mentioned are those of E. H. Plumptre, R. Payne Smith, F. W. Farrar, C. J. Ball, Stanley Leathes.

This book furnishes a very handy compendium of the most important facts relating to the external form of the various books of the Old Testament. It cannot, however, be said to be up to the times, nor is there to be found in the discussions as great a freedom as under all the circumstances ought to be expected. The most satisfactory contributions in the book are

those of Canon Rawlinson, on Exodus; C. J. Ball, on Chronicles; Professor Salmon, on Ecclesiastes. The introduction on the Book of Jonah sets aside the question of the nature of the narrative as of secondary importance since "the figure would be none the less striking, the character none the less instructive if it is the creation of fiction; and the incident, even if unhistorical, carries a well of profound scriptural truth." It gives up the question of authorship and date for lack of sufficient data, being doubtful whether the book was composed before the year 180 B. C. The introduction to Solomon's Song tends toward the dramatic theory which makes the poem celebrate the ennobling element in pure love. The authenticity and genuineness of the Book of Daniel are well defended. The Book of Esther is assigned to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (464-425 B. C.) There is not space to touch on the views presented concerning the other books.

W. R. H.

The Books of Chronicles. By W. H. BENNETT, M.A., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature, Hackney and New Colleges. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Pp. xii. and 464. Price, \$1.50.

To galvanize genealogical tables and statistical rolls is a task which would tax a genius. This volume, in *The Expositor's Bible* series, sets out to do this very thing. Professor Bennett evidently cast his eye over the victim some time before he laid hold of it, to know just how he should lay it out. He quarters the volume into four books. Book I. is the introduction, elaborating the "date and authorship," "historical setting," "sources and mode of composition," and "the importance of Chronicles." He puts the date of the books between 332 B.C. and 166 B.C. for reasons (p. 4) which show the trend of the author's prepossessions. The historical setting is found down in post-exilic times while the temple, presumably, was emphasized, and its ritual firmly followed. "At this time," says the author, "the Deuteronomic school systematized and interpreted the records of the national history" (p. 9). Whence this piece of information? "The sources and mode of composition" is a fair treatment, though it makes some assertions which it would be extremely difficult for the writer to substantiate; *e. g.*, "This 'Book of Kings,' so often mentioned, is therefore neither a source nor authority of Chronicles. There is nothing to prove that the author was actually acquainted with the book" (p. 18). Professor Bennett apparently questions the authority of Chronicles unless we have other material from which we can prove the antiquity of the sources from which it is derived (p. 24). Book II. lines up a series of questions, such as names, heredity, statistics, family traditions, etc., under the general topic, "genealogies." Book III. examines "Messianic and other types." The characters of David and Solomon are weighed in the balances, and found wanting in Kings, but level the balances in Chronicles. The

prophets, priests and even Satan receive their dues in the course of this book, though "the chronicler had never seen a prophet" (p. 241).

Book IV. interprets the history from 2 Chron. 10 to the end of that book in ten chapters. It must be said for Professor Bennett, that he enlivens his characters, and so pictures the scenes as to make to pass before us the panorama of the kingdom of Judah, from the division of the kingdom down to the fall of Jerusalem. Though somewhat speculative as to the times of the chronicler, he has given us a genuine contribution to the material on Chronicles.

PRICE.

How to Read the Prophets. Being the prophecies arranged chronologically in their historical settings with explanations, map, and glossary. By Rev. BUCHANAN BLAKE, B.D. Part. III. Jeremiah. Pages 1-288. Price \$1.50. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

There have been previously published two other volumes, one dealing with the smaller pre-exilian prophets and the other with Isaiah. The idea of this book is most excellent and the execution of the idea is very satisfactory. The first division of the book contains an arrangement of Jeremiah's prophecies in chronological order, the poetical portions being printed in blank verse with carefully selected captions for the various sections. The more obscure verses are indicated in black type and receive brief explanation in the appendix. The second division includes a presentation of the ideas of Jeremiah in their historical setting, the material being arranged in chapters to correspond with the text which makes up the contents of division one. These supplementary chapters explain the material of division one. Perhaps, nowhere, not even in Cheyne's "Jeremiah and His Times," will the ordinary reader find a better presentation of the work of Jeremiah, a prophet whose utterances have received far too little attention from the average student of the Old Testament. One could suggest no better book than this to put in the hands of Bible classes for the study of Jeremiah. The chapter in division three, or Jeremiah's Religious Conceptions, though brief is very suggestive. "A true patriot, animated with deepest feelings for suffering, he was obliged to separate himself so entirely from all the temporary forms of truth and patriotism, and to attach himself all the more firmly to the truth that abides and the city that continues, whose architect and builder is God. He believed in Providence: God was for him no absentee deity. God would vindicate himself and finally triumph over every opposing power. With such beliefs, no wonder that Jeremiah lived and died as he did." Mr. Blake has not gone far enough. There remains yet to be published that presentation of the prophets which will make them live in these modern days as they certainly lived in ancient times. What will be the characteristic of this presentation? Perhaps at another time we may have the time and space to consider the answer to this question.

W. R. H.

The Origin of the Pentateuch, in the Light of the Ancient Monuments. By HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Professor of History in the Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va. Richmond, Va.: B. F. Johnson Publishing Co. Pp. 304. Price \$2.00.

This is one of the books which a reviewer would like to lay aside without a word. But duty demands a statement of the facts, and this is done only after some careful examination of the volume. The author says in his preface that he is giving the reader material which he has delivered to his classes in Bible History during several sessions. He has a hope that this printed volume may be found available "as a text-book of history in our colleges and universities." He has consulted, in its preparation, nearly all of the available second-hand material on the early history of the peoples in Bible lands. He makes copious quotations from the best authors, and cites many authorities for his statements.

But the title of his work, and his lectures in Part I. have barely a tangential relation. There is a sad lack of order, either logical or chronological, in the whole of Part I. The remainder of the book is a discussion of the story of the Pentateuch with its light from legend and ancient history. The material, though abundant, and generally accurate, has not been duly organized or digested. It is not a unit in plan or purpose. The author often uses striking language, but his lack of orderly treatment does not commend but rather discredits the volume.

PRICE.

Studies in Oriental Social Life, and Gleams from the East on the Sacred Page.

By H. CLAY TRUMBULL, author of "Kadesh Barnea," "The Blood Covenant," etc. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles and Co., 1894. Pp. xviii. and 437. Price \$2.50.

Dr. Trumbull is best known in this country by his successful editorial management of *The Sunday School Times*, but his patient and thorough investigation of several themes connected with Oriental life has won for him a large place in the circle of biblical and archæological scholars. His "Kadesh Barnea" is regarded as an authority on that subject even among the *savants* of Europe. This new contribution is a collection of material made from his own experience and observation in the East, and from the results of his extensive reading of the lives of travelers in the Orient, and authors of works on different phases of Oriental life. The most elaborate presentations are those on "Betrothals and Weddings in the East," "Hospitality in the East," and "Funerals and Mourning in the East." Other and shorter treatments are those on "The Voice of the Forerunner," "Primitive Idea of 'The Way,'" "The Oriental Idea of Father," "Prayers and Praying in the East," "Food in the Desert," "Calls for Healing in the East," "Gold and Silver in the Desert," "The Pilgrimage Idea in the East," "An Outlook from Jacob's

Well," "The Samaritan Passover," and "Lessons of the Wilderness." The discussions abound in quotations from the Old Testament and the New, brought in just where the point under survey helps illumine the passage. The footnotes give the reader the book, chapter, and verse, and an index of Scripture references at the end of the volume locates all the passages illustrated or illumined by the customs narrated. A Topical Index also makes the volume a valuable reference work for any student of the Old Testament. Dr. Trumbull has put the matter in a charming literary form, and made it entertaining, interesting, and instructive. The general and special Bible student will receive from its presentations many new hints as to the better interpretation of such portions of Scripture as grow immediately out of the customs of the times. The mechanical make-up of the volume is elegant, too luxurious for the ordinary book buyer. An edition in slightly smaller type, narrower margins, lighter paper, lower price, would not depreciate its real value as compared with works of like character, and would add vastly to its salableness among the very class of men which Dr. Trumbull can most help. We hope that such an edition will soon be issued.

PRICE.

The Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions. By the REV. GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., D.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1892. Pp. vii. and 342.

This is a very attractive book by reason of the subject and the vigor and variety of the presentation. Dr. Matheson is never dull, always stimulating, often instructive. The variety of fields into which he has entered in his various writings suggests a natural suspicion of superficiality in the treatment, which indeed is not always unjustified, though the brilliance of the style, joined with the ingenuity and originality of the ideas advanced, succeed partially in doing away with such an impression. This latest work in the study of religions is marked by all the characteristics of the writer's method. We cannot feel that he has scored an unqualified success. His very excellences tell against him. The field of religious history demands careful and patient study of the phenomena, and a multitude of qualifications and reservations in the handling, such as in the nature of the case Dr. Matheson cannot give. The presentation of the salient thought, the "distinctive message," of each religion, if, indeed, such a thing can be determined—the primary object of this work—must lie at the end of such prolonged and patient study, not, as is thought by the writer, in a line somewhat apart from, and less uncertain and obscure than, the detailed investigation of the multitudinous facts of each faith.

Moreover, is it an indubitable fact that each of the world's great religions had one "distinctive message" which is to be singled out and labeled in this manner? These great religions grappled with all the problems of existence,

and contributed light upon the various questions which man seeks to answer. Their "messages" are complex, not simple. At least it seems to us to be an assumption which cannot be taken for granted, that these religions each had a different thought, a different direction, a different outcome, clearly and strongly marked and capable of reduction to a formula. A book, therefore, which bases itself on the assumption, is doomed to partial failure from the beginning. Its service will consist, and the service of Dr. Matheson's book consists, in the delineation of some characteristic features and the presentation of important elements in these religions. These chapters cannot fail to stimulate interest in their study, and contribute some very attractive pages to the literature of exposition of religious thinking and life outside of Christianity.

When the book is tested in its salient points, it does not always come off with success. We do not refer so much to the two opening chapters of discussion respecting the origin and essential character of religion, though these seem to us more showy than solid. But the "distinctive messages" discovered will not be accepted by most students of religion as valid. The inductions are built upon a few facts and are colored by the subjective ideas of the writer. All the conclusions of Dr. Matheson might be met with counter assertions which could be bolstered up with facts equally evident and equally conclusive.

All students in religion, and all work in this field should be welcomed. Everything that stimulates interest is thereby commendable. But it is necessary to warn the uninitiated that not all the facts are settled, and that conclusions as to "distinctive messages" are very hazardous. If Dr. Matheson had concentrated on one religion the work he has spread over ten, he would have produced a better book, and have done a more permanent service to the study of religions.

G. S. G.

Hours with the Mystics: A Contribution to the History of Religious Opinion.

By ROBERT ALFRED VAUGHAN, B.A. Sixth edition. Two volumes in one. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893. Pp. xxxix., 372; x., 382.

The appearance of a new reprint—it is nothing more—of the third edition of this work, is a tribute to the hold it has upon the heart of the religious and scholarly publics. By no means a compend of all philosophy that might be termed mystical, it has thrown together the chief thoughts of the chief mystics in such simple, sympathetic fashion, that to miss reading it, is to miss the most effective introduction to that fascinating world that lies on the borderland between poetry and fact. For nearly forty years this work has held its own unique place in literature. Special studies on Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Francis, Tauler, Madam Guyon, and other mystical writers, have never replaced the discussions and letters of Atherton and his friends. Its reappearance in these days is encouraging in that it evinces an under-current of sympathy with the deep spiritual life of all ages. The present is

above all an age of criticism. Faith is passing through one of its ever-recurring times of testing and refining, and there is especial need that intense examination of old beliefs should be balanced by deep religious experience. Such a balancing of criticism has been in the past the chief contribution of the mystic. With all his liability to fanaticism, he has always aided the cause of personal religion. To avoid fanaticism is often easier than to appropriate faith, but he who refuses to accept the fundamental premise of mysticism—the possibility of an immediate knowledge of God—has stricken from religion that which its foremost champions of all ages have accounted its chief glory.

Such a work as *Hours with the Mystics* is certain both to warn its readers against the extravagances of a too-fervid faith, and to lead them with less suspicion to consider that conception of religion which, while insisting upon the great truth of union with Christ, has suffered both from its friends and its name.

S. M.

The Witness to Immortality in Literature, Philosophy, and Life. By GEORGE A. GORDON, Minister of the Old South Church, Boston. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1893. Pp. ix., 310.

This volume contains, in seven chapters, a series of addresses delivered in the Old South Church, Boston. Its limitations and its excellencies are those of spoken discourse. Its author presents no formal argument for immortality, but rather undertakes to substantiate an existing belief with a survey of the beliefs of all time. Its method is literary rather than apologetic. "Literature may be sampled, and its utterance upon one theme may be regarded as the highest wisdom that the race has thus far attained." In pursuance of this method an examination is made of Hebrew prophets, Greek poets, philosophers of all ages, modern poets, St. Paul, and Jesus Christ. The treatment accorded philosophy and poetry is of necessity less complete than that accorded the New Testament teachings, but is marked by careful selection and clear exposition. While there might very well be a difference of opinion in regard to the scanty evidence for a feeling of immortality adduced from the Hebrew prophets, the author's treatment of the facts of Christ's life and death is most satisfactory. It is especially gratifying to discover a recognition of the conformity of the resurrection to the facts of psychology.

While the work cannot be said to have contributed anything new to the literature upon immortality, it has at least presented old arguments in a manner attractive to the lover of pulpit apologetics. The chief criticism to be passed upon it is its somewhat diffuse style, and its unwillingness to undertake a more positive presentation of the historical arguments for Christ's revival.

S. M.

Judas Maccabæus and the Jewish War of Independence.—By CLAUDE R. CONDER, D.C.L., etc. New edition. Published for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. London and New York : Macmillan & Co., 1894. Pp. 218. \$1.25.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1879, and Major Conder has found little to change in preparing the new edition. The author's extended archæological researches in Palestine make his statements upon ancient topography and geography of much value, and the sketch of the history of the Jews from the Persian supremacy until the time of Pompeius is naturally full of interest. Major Conder's chronology, however, is not that of the most critical students of Jewish history, nor do the interpretations of certain Old Testament passages which he has seen fit to introduce into his book, add materially to its value. The author's view of the character and motives of Judas is the most favorable one possible. The book is uniform in binding with the other works of Major Conder published under the same auspices.

E. J. G.

Current Literature.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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VOLUME IV.

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NUMBER 6

ANY study of the Christ leads at last beyond the pages of the Holy Scriptures. He was foreshadowed in the Old Testament ; the record of his life and teaching appears in the New Testament ; but his influence is to be felt in all subsequent literature and his words have affected the doctrines and beliefs even of some non-Christian peoples. He was born in Palestine, but he belongs to the world. It was to nothing less than the world that he came with his message and his example. Though he was crucified in Judea, he laid down his life in behalf of the world. These universal elements of his character, his claims, and his influence bring him into comparison with other great religious teachers of humanity.

SUCH comparison is as instructive as it is unavoidable. To many its chief value lies in the polemical significance. The practical end of demonstrating the superiority of Jesus dominates their investigations. Was he greater than the greatest of these ? Do his words, deeds, character, reveal, as over against these, a more than human personality, or a humanity so exalted as to be explained only from a superhuman source ?—these are the questions which not a few reasonably hope to answer in the affirmative.

ANOTHER line may be followed, leading doubtless to the same end, though it starts from another point. In this case the

student is seeking light from every quarter upon the life, teachings, and character of Jesus Christ. He finds in this comparison a not insignificant source of illumination. He now views Jesus from the universal side. He asks, "How is he revealed to me from among the other religious leaders of men? In what respect will it enlarge my knowledge of him to view him in the light of their life, their teachings, their character?" It is questions such as these, and the point of view which they take, that suggest the new and final aspect of the study of the Christ with which we conclude the series of suggestions respecting this study, presented in these pages for the past few months. Only hints of argument, outlines of principles, will be attempted, in order merely to inspire and direct further work in this most fascinating field.

MANY may think that in instituting these comparisons the student is taking our Lord out of his rightful domain, lowering his dignity, degrading the gospel which he proclaimed, and making a dangerous compromise with error. Yet one may well call attention to the simplest facts in the case. What, for example, does it mean that Jesus is one of a company of religious founders? What is the significance of the fact that other systems of religion than Christianity have at their centre personalities who give form, motive, and even name to the organizations? Here are Zoroaster, Confucius, Buddha, Mohammed—great names, whose import for religion we are just beginning to appreciate at something like their real worth. Is it not clear that Jesus himself chose to take his stand among them, to work on their level, from this level to invite comparison with them and in this comparison to illustrate himself and his teaching more clearly and convincingly?

THE impression thus suggested is corroborated in a multitude of directions. Observe how each one of these religious leaders is a part of his own age both in personal life and experience and in religious activity. Jesus was no unnatural Jew, out of sympathy with his own times because beyond them. We can hardly conceive of him in India, or of Buddha in Jerusalem. All these great

leaders use methods determined by time and place, whether it be Judea in the first century or Arabia in the seventh. The form of the message is modified for the people to whom it is brought according to their way of religious thinking, their heritage of past beliefs. These teachers all manifest and work in the human relations and conditions in which they are born, speaking in words which their brethren in the flesh can best understand, and to needs which they preëminently feel.

Wonderful underlying resemblances with these teachers develop more clearly the Christ's relation to them. In much he was no exception, no unique phenomenon. His methods and aims show similar characteristics to those of the other founders of religions. These characteristics are not found in their entirety in each one of the great non-Christian teachers, but there is not one who does not show some trait, some element of resemblance, examples of which are the following : The narrow circle of believers is first gathered. A few are impressed before the many are moved. The ultimate object of teaching is attained by the impact of spirit on spirit. There is no care to leave behind a written record of the preaching. The incarnation of it all in a few living men inspired by the founder's personality is enough. Hope and light are radiated. The imagination of after generations gathers a vast body of written material which reflects and idealizes the impression produced. The substance of the teaching deals with the elemental in human life and experience. Hence the same themes recur. Often similar thoughts are uttered. The deeds bear in many elements a common stamp and the persons attracted disclose a common character. The relation of man and God, man's past and his future, his sins, sorrows, hopes, and fears—these things are the subjects of their discourse. Religion is the common centre of their lives.

SUCH considerations may seem startling to some to whom they come as a novelty. But they only emphasize in a new way and illustrate with unexpected light the old truth of the wonderful adaptability of the life and teaching of Jesus to the human mind and heart. He is perfectly natural in his dealings with

humanity. His doctrine is not something external, superimposed from without, to which man must adjust himself. It has already been adjusted to man, just as other religious teachers have sought to meet the wants of the human souls about them. Their likenesses in these matters are marvelously instructive, not as the devil's copies of the one and only true, but as "the testimony of the soul naturally Christian" to the perfect suitability of the Christ to be "the Light of the World."

IF NOW reasonable ground has been shown for making such comparison, as being implied in the relation which Jesus himself virtually takes to these teachers, another step may be taken. We may hope to learn from our study something of the qualities for an ideal religious teacher and founder. Our method is a thoroughly scientific one, that of comparison and selection. What then are these essential characteristics that appear in such a comparative study? The answer which we offer is merely suggestive, for the task is gigantic.

1. Such a religious leader must have the quality of *inwardness*. He knows man in his inmost self, and the essentials of man's need. He lays hold of the permanent and vital in human nature. Humanity is not satisfied with superficial work in religion. He strikes the fundamental chords which give form and direction to the entire harmony and without whose control minor strains die away into silence, or dissonance rends the soul. He is not deceived by appearance, nor does he stop till he reaches the centre. The springs of life are searched and purified, renewed and directed under his hand. He acts, he speaks, from the spirit to the spirit. His method and his work are vital.

2. THERE must be the quality of *universality*. The principles enforced must be useful in all ages. The form of the message may be colored by the particular period, but the message itself goes back to ultimate ideas which can be separated from the dress that clothes them and can take on naturally the garb of any and every time. The great teacher speaks to all races in all climes. He knows how to reach all varieties of experience and dis-

position. He brings his religious thought to bear upon all the relations of life, not by specific and particular declarations, but in the wide reach of his maxims, the applicability of his general ideas, and the transparent reference of his precepts and example to all realms of human effort, concerning alike the individual and society.

3. THE world's religious teacher must be an *illustration and example* of his doctrine. He shows that confidence in applying his teachings to himself which he exhibits in recommending them to others. Indeed the truth which he proclaims not merely comes forth from his lips, but belongs to his life, is part of himself. The world demands of him that he exemplify it. The religious sense of humanity revolts from inconsistency of life and words. Doctrine is thus exhibited most clearly when it is incarnated. Teaching through personality is always with least admixture of error. The true test of the teacher's gospel as well as the most effective motive for its propagation lie in the model of its character and effect in one's own person. This is merely to say that in religion, as in every other sphere, the true leader leads.

4. THE great religious teacher must have the *inspirational quality*. His teaching is not only vital and universal; it is also enkindling. The promulgation of new truth may leave us cold, or it may arouse desire without satisfying it. But a true religious leader fires us with enthusiastic belief in his message, and leads us to the realization of it. He possesses and conveys power. Not only knowledge of what is true is the need of the world; it is the presence of one who arouses in men aspiration to realize that which is known and power to attain that after which they aspire. In other words, the ideal teacher is a great personality endowed with spiritual vitality, winning by sweet reasonableness, drawing by irresistible conviction, transforming by the force of example and self-communication to the springs of the inner life.

It is not claimed that these four characteristics of the ideal religious leader are all that might be named. Yet no one will

deny that they are fundamental and wide-reaching. They are gathered from a comparison of the salient characteristics of the world's great teachers of religion. For the purpose which is before us, the knowledge of the Christ, they afford a helpful, if somewhat unique, method of study. This may take two directions. First, we may apply these characteristics to the life and teaching of the Christ. That marvelous life thereby gains a new setting, grows in beauty through the discovery of the harmonious adjustment of qualities, discloses a depth and breadth not before realized. Or, again, we may measure all these teachers by this standard, endeavoring to ascertain how far they approach it, contrasting them, one with another, from this point of view. Both procedures are thoroughly scientific, and cannot but prove profitable. There can be no question that the outcome will be a fuller and more truthful conception of Jesus.

WHAT more interesting and delightful culmination of one's study of the Christ, as thus we take leave of him, standing, as he himself chose to stand, among the other religious leaders of mankind, and rising out from among them. It is, in a word, to view the Christ as the universal Teacher, "the Saviour of the World."

A THEORY OF THE DIVINE AND HUMAN ELEMENTS IN GENESIS I.-XI.¹

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

Some propositions.—Objections proposed by those who have ignored the human element.—Objections proposed by those who have ignored the divine element.—Concluding words.

It is the purpose of this, the last article of the series, to formulate, if possible, a theory which shall cover the facts noted in preceding articles. This task is undertaken with a full appreciation of its difficulty and its delicacy. It is not expected that, under the limitations imposed, it will be possible to do more than make some suggestions toward a theory. It is manifestly impossible to elaborate the many points which should receive attention. The steps cannot all be enumerated; as in the genealogical tables of olden times, only the most important may be indicated. The question before us is, Whence came these early stories of Genesis? Of what value are they? How came they to occupy their present place at the very threshold of Sacred Scripture? We shall take up first a series of propositions, and later objections urged from various sides.

I. Some propositions.

1. Man lived once in a state of original innocence; he sinned and as a consequence fell. This is the teaching of Genesis and the teaching throughout of Scripture. No man can accept the Scriptures without accepting this most fundamental doctrine. It does not follow, however, that what seems to be the teaching of science is wholly inconsistent. It is possible, certainly, to accept a doctrine of evolution and at the same time to accept the truth of these representations. Our starting point, however, whether in accordance with the teaching of science or not, is a

¹ A portion of this paper was read at the meeting of the Baptist Congress, held in Detroit, Mich., Nov. 15-17, 1894.

sinful world, which must be lifted back again to God from whom it once came forth perfect.

2. An examination of sacred and profane history shows that from the dawn of history there has been a gradual upward movement. This is nothing other than the development of the plan of God for the "salvation" of men. Sacred Scripture teaches, and the facts of history indicate, that in this upward movement the fundamental principle has been *that work for man shall be done by man*. So rigid was the application of this principle that the Son of God himself became a man in order that the work might be accomplished without violating it. The divine thought has worked in the hearts of individuals and in the heart of nations, and with every advancing century there has been steady increase of power and manifest growth in resources. Nearer and nearer, with each great cycle, humanity has approached the goal. No scholar, who is a Christian, can be a pessimist.

3. At the very beginning the true pedagogical principle was adopted, namely, that of teaching *one* in order that this one might teach many others. Noah was selected as the only righteous man in all the earth, and with him, the race having become corrupt, a new start is made.

4. In accordance with the fundamental principle of the plan adopted, a principle which, as has been said, is strictly pedagogical, of the three sons of Noah, Shem was selected, in whose family there should be a special manifestation of the divine presence; and in later times, Abraham of the many descendants of Shem is chosen. The progress of the divine plan seems to have been slow, but no one fails to observe its thorough-going character.

5. With the transplanting of Abraham, a most important step forward is taken, likewise a most radical step; for this is the beginning of a national history. The chosen nation is as yet only a family. It is better, therefore, to call the period beginning with Abraham, family history rather than national history. In this family history, as well as in the national history which develops out of it, God acts in a special manner, that is,

he enters into it as in no other history.¹ Through the divine influence Abraham abandons idolatry, and there is another beginning of the connection with the true God. Abraham likewise carries with him the traditions of the past which were current among his countrymen. These traditions, as well as his religious ideas, are purified and begin to descend through father to son in their new and more representative form.

6. The work goes on very slowly. The divine influence is felt; but as it would seem, God acts in revelation as well as in nature, slowly. Gradually the heart of man is lifted up and becomes capable of receiving the message in higher and more perfect form. Then come the residence in Egypt, the great work of Moses, the giving of a legislative code, the period of the judges, the reorganization by Samuel, the development of the monarchy, the lyric contributions of David (perhaps ten or fifteen), the division between north and south, and, within a century, the remarkable prophetic activity exhibited in the schools of the prophets, in the work of Elijah, Elisha, and Jonah. The period from the departure out of Egypt to the division of the kingdom, is one of alternate rise and fall. At one time the nation seems to be making headway, at another it loses all the advantage it has gained; now forward, now backward; but after all, the period, taken as a whole, shows immense advance.

7. The time has now come for more rapid progress; more rapid, because foundations have been laid on which something may be built. In order, therefore, that the work may be accelerated, and in order that there may be high and strong incentive for further progress, certain men, themselves the outgrowth of this divinely guided history, and the product of the natural and supernatural influences which have been long centuries at work, are incited and guided to read correctly the story of this plan as it has developed in the past, and to record their reading of it in a form which shall be most helpful. There seems to have been but slight movement in the direction of literary work in Israel before this time. Literary documents

¹ THE BIBLICAL WORLD, November, p. 352.

exist which have come down from earlier centuries, but they are only fragments. The nation had not yet reached the point when literary production was essential, or indeed possible. The memories of the past were, however, many and fresh. As among all primitive peoples, father transmitted to son the family and tribal stories. It is not to be understood that writing was not known, for as recent discoveries, for example, the Tel el-Amarna tablets, have most clearly shown, there were among the surrounding nations literatures already somewhat developed.

8. The great prehistoric events, among others the fall, the deluge, and the stories of beginnings of civilization, made so great an impression upon the primitive man as to have led to their transmission in various ways through many nations. The facts thus transmitted take on various forms in the different nations. Some of these facts are preserved more fully and more clearly in one nation than in another.

9. The Hebrews, among others, inherited these traditions. When Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees, many of them must have been familiar to him. Naturally, coming himself to be a monotheist, such traditions, passing through his hands, must have assumed more or less of the purified and monotheistic form which they present in later days. It is not probable, however, that this purified and monotheistic form originated at one time. It may better be supposed that it was gradual in its development. Many of the oldest traditions are rejected by the descendants of Abraham because of their polytheistic and degraded character. Those adopted are in each case modified in order to accommodate them to the religious spirit which has now developed in the hearts and minds of the chosen people.

10. In later times, namely, the times following those of Elisha, Elijah, and Jonah, when there has come to exist wonderful activity of a prophetic character, certain prophetic writers, guided by the divine spirit, undertake to teach the people of their times and of future times, the law of God on certain essential matters, and in doing this to employ the material handed down from the past. The material within their reach was doubtless of great variety and very copious. The prophetic

writers, however, in each case, have before them a definite conception of the teachings which they would promulgate, and are controlled throughout by this definite purpose. Each writer, therefore, (*a*) *selects* from the great mass of material that which will answer his purpose, rejecting twenty stories, or a hundred, where he takes a single one, the basis of selection being, as above stated, the adaptability of the stories selected to the great purpose which fills his heart and mind; (*b*) *purifies* the material thus selected by rejecting everything that would tend to foster wrong ideas of what was believed to be essential truth, by omitting also that which was false and calculated to mislead in any way; (*c*) *interprets* the material thus selected as only a prophet of God acquainted with the divine laws could interpret it, seeing with the insight given from above the real significance of these events of old, incorporating this significance and connecting this interpretation with the facts narrated in such a way as to make the result not history, but a great religious story; (*d*) *embellishes*, in a manner beyond criticism from the artistic point of view, the material thus purified and incorporated, so as to make these stories, what history has shown them to be, the most beautiful and effective pedagogical material ever prepared; (*e*) *arranges* them in an order, with a connection and consecution which indicate unity of purpose and execution, this arrangement being frequently logical rather than chronological.

11. Side by side with the development of the prophetic idea there has come also the priestly. The latter, indeed, preceded the former in its origin and in its first active manifestations. Including (*a*) elements inherited from other nations, (*b*) elements borrowed from Egypt, (*c*) the new organization and the additional elements rising in the time of Moses, the system continued to develop from century to century, sometimes falling back, at other times taking advanced ground. In course of time the idea is conceived of narrating the origin and growth of this great system, which has now come to be pervasive in its influence, and all but supreme in its control. A man of priestly habits, guided by the Holy Spirit, undertakes to make a collection of these ancient traditions which shall indicate the divine lessons

which from his point of view they were intended to teach, and follows the plan adopted by his brethren the prophets. Whether he preceded them or followed them is not a question to be discussed at this point. The plan was the same, the general purpose the same; and so he selects, and purifies, and interprets, and embellishes, and arranges the material to accomplish the end he has in view.

12. The purpose of the prophetic writers was to teach the law of God concerning the life of men; how men should live, how they should not live; the difference between right and wrong, and the trouble and invariable consequences of doing wrong. The purpose of the priest was to show the development step by step of the plan of God for the salvation of men; how one institution after another was established, and how, in connection with each, a covenant was entered into with man: (1) The institution of the Sabbath, preceded by what was practically a covenant to give to man the dominion of the earth; (2) the institution of the sacredness of blood, and in connection with this the covenant with Noah; (3) the institution of circumcision, and in connection with this the covenant with Abraham—all these leading up to the last, the greatest, (4) the giving of the law on Sinai, and the covenant entered into with Israel.

13. At a later period, how much later is and always will be a matter of uncertainty, an editor filled with the same general purpose and guided by the same spirit, undertakes to join these various representations together. He makes such changes as seem to him best to be made. He omits material now from one narrative, now from another. He places side by side the different interpretations of the same event, for he sees that, however much these differ one from another, the essential ideas are the same. The world would have been a great loser if this editor had given us only one account of each of the events described. Reference has been restricted in the foregoing statement to the material which makes up the stories of Genesis I.-XI.

We see that the work was done *through man for man*. Prophets and priests acquainted with the principles of divine government undertake to illustrate these principles and in connection

with the illustrations to formulate them. The truth imparted to them from on high is thus given objective form. But every effort to illustrate or to formulate was restricted by limitations of a serious character; limitations growing out of their own imperfect abilities and due also to the character of the people in whose interests they were working. It is true that to Israelitish history God sustained a peculiar relation. As has been said, he entered into this history in a unique way. It was in a true sense divine history; the best history Almighty Power, acting in consistency with other attributes, and working in the hearts of the people dragged down with sin, could inspire.

The same may be said of Israelitish literature; God sustained to it a peculiar relation. It was the best literature Almighty Power, acting in consistency with other attributes, could inspire in the hearts of a people of Semitic blood, living in that period of the world's history; and yet it is imperfect, including different and differing accounts of the same event; what from the point of view of history and science are errors and inconsistencies; what is certainly a total disregard of the common laws of history-writing in vogue today. What, now, shall we say concerning these chapters and the others? That they contain the word of God? This is not sufficient. In the truest and fullest sense, they *are* the word of God. They are and constitute the word of God. Israelitish history being divine history in a unique and peculiar sense, the literature growing out of that history is divine literature in just the same sense. God worked in other history, and the revelation of God appears in other literature, but we must go back to Israelitish history and to Israelitish literature to find the real God-history and the real God-word. The history and the word, each considered as a manifestation of the divine purpose and action, and as a revelation of principles covering faith and duty, are perfect and infallible.

II. *Objections presented by those who have ignored the human element.*

I. Are not the outside stories, copied from the Bible stories? This position is untenable because (1) there is satisfactory evi-

dence that some of the outside stories were in their present form before Israel was a nation; (2) the biblical stories contain upon their face the evidence of comparatively late origin; (3) this objection is based upon the supposition that there was a primitive revelation of the material contained in these stories, which has been preserved pure and intact alone in the Hebrew account. This supposition is opposed at the same time to all the historical facts involved, and to any proper conception of the development of the Old Testament religion.

2. Did not Moses, according to the New Testament, write the law and is not any denial of this fact a denial of the veracity of Jesus himself? It is true that Moses organized the institutions of Israel as they had been inherited or borrowed from other nations before his time, and this pre-Mosaic element in the Mosaic system is very considerable. It is also true that in this reorganization new principles were given by Moses which justify tradition and history in ascribing his name to the system; but it is equally true that many additions and modifications were made in the centuries that followed. Should criticism prove that the larger portion of the Mosaic system, as we have it today, arose in a post-Mosaic period, it would not in any way contradict the representations made in the New Testament. A considerable portion of the law, upon any hypothesis, was Mosaic; the remainder grew out of the Mosaic portion and was permeated by the Mosaic spirit. The real essence of the law was Mosaic, and therefore we are justified today in calling it the Mosaic system. The greatest of our Hebrew grammars is still called by the name of Gesenius although the author has been dead for years, and many new editions of the grammar published since his death, each edition containing modifications of the old material and the addition of much new material. The last edition of Webster's dictionary probably contains very little of what was in the book when the author died. The efforts of certain teachers to make Jesus Christ responsible for a theory which modern scholarship has shown to be false, are attended with great risk. An exact parallel is to be found in the attitude of men, actuated by the same spirit, who said fifty years ago that if the day of creation

was not a day of twenty-four hours, the Bible was false. Thinking men should not allow their eyes to be blinded in this artful and superficial way.

3. Was there no revelation from God before 900 B.C.? This is not a fair implication, for it is distinctly maintained that the facts underlying these narratives are facts which were known to all the intervening centuries; and so far as these facts carry with them the lessons found there, revelation must be acknowledged. It is distinctly maintained that Abraham handed down these stories in a purified form, and that the essence of the Mosaic teaching, which was revealed from God, was known to the people of and after Moses' time. The acceptance of the analysis does not, therefore, bring down the date of the first revelation to the year 900 B.C. It only concedes that the present literary form of this revelation dates from about that period. A distinction must be made between the events themselves and the literary form. An example of this may be seen in the case of the prophet Jonah. The historical narrative in Kings tells us that he was a prophet of the time of Jereboam II., and did his work under that monarch. The evidence presented by the Book of Jonah is that this book comes from a period later than 400 to 450 B.C. In order to understand the *work* of Jonah, and at the same time to understand the *book* of Jonah, one therefore must distinguish between the time of the prophet and the time at which the prophetic narrative assumed its present shape. The fact that the book is of late date does not indicate that the prophet Jonah lived during this later period rather than in the period to which history assigns him.

4. *How can this material be the word of God and yet contain errors and inaccuracies?* It seems impossible to take the space required for a detailed answer to this question. It will be sufficient, at this time, to note, (1) the parallelism between Israelitish history into which God entered in a special way, and Israelitish literature given above (pages 410-13); (2) the fact universally accepted that in the present manuscripts and versions of our Bible, there are errors and inaccuracies; (3) the impossibility of supposing *a priori* that anything with which a human hand has

had to do could be absolutely perfect ; (4) that there is no necessity for demanding absolute freedom from error except as concerns religious truth.

5. *How can a statement be false in fact and yet ideally true ?* In this form the question is often asked. A moment's consideration shows that this putting of the question is a begging of it. In reply to it we may say (1) that according to the hypothesis here presented the statements are not false in fact. It has been maintained that these statements were true in their essence ; (2) that in any case care must be taken to distinguish fact and truth ; there are many facts which teach no truth ; there is much truth which is not dependent upon fact. (3) That even fiction has been employed in all periods of the world's history for the inculcation of the most important truth. Our Lord himself employed the parable which is a species of fiction. (4) That the phrase "idealized history" presupposes in the case of every narrative to which it is applied, real and genuine history. (5) That this phrase, properly interpreted, means history written for a special purpose, implying, of course, something different from and higher than history written merely to narrate or chronicle facts.

6. *Did not the Bible produce history, rather than history the Bible ?* The Bible has produced no history, although history has been moulded and colored by the teachings and representations of the Bible. The history of christianity from the first century down has been influenced by the Bible, but the history of Christianity was not produced by the Bible. Certain great events took place. There would have been historical consequences from these events even if they had never been recorded in literary form. The truth is on every hand that the Bible is the outgrowth of history. David, Isaiah, and Ezekiel lived and worked. Their life and work were a part of the history of the nation Israel. Out of this there grew the Bible. The fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, not any record of it, is the foundation of the believer's belief in his own resurrection. The record of the transaction does not prove it to have taken place. Its occurrence without any written record may be satisfactorily proven. The chief difficulty in popular thought in reference to

the Bible lies in the fact that it has put the cart before the horse in placing emphasis upon the record rather than upon the history which produced the record.

III. Objections urged by those who have ignored the divine element.

1. How can it be shown that these words are not the work of a comparatively late date? This follows from (1) their external character (including literary style and historical allusions) as compared with that of other similar stories; (2) their fundamental character in relation to the older biblical system, the beginnings of which, we must concede, date back to great antiquity; (3) their perfect consistency with the representations which they make concerning themselves.

2. *How can it be shown that God acted in Hebrew history as in no other?* This is the teaching of the facts in the case, for if we study Hebrew history in its environment, Hebrew religious teaching in the midst of the teachings of surrounding nations, the peculiar outcome of Israelitish history as seen in New Testament history, the institutions of Israel as compared with those of other nations, the position of Israel today among the nations of the earth,—there is surely no ground, from a scientific point of view, for doubting this fundamental position.

3. *Is there any more of inspiration in these records than in the work, for example, of John Bunyan?* Because these records are the outgrowth of a theocratic life, a life into which God entered as into no other, the inspiration which belongs to them is peculiar and may not be compared with that of even the world's greatest thinkers. This is something unique and incomparable. The history being what it was, the records are what they are. If, in the providence of God, there shall come another epoch in the world's history, during which he shall select and treat some nation as he did Israel of old, then and not till then shall we have writings to which may be accorded the same kind of inspiration that we accord to the records of Sacred Scripture.

4. *Is the predictive element sufficiently specific to prove anything?* Yes. Even upon the supposition that these predictions come from a period not earlier than the eighth or ninth centuries B. C., we find in them evidence of a knowledge of the

future development of the history of the human race which cannot be explained except upon the ground of the revelation from God. Prediction, to be sure, is and must be general, and these predictions may be said to be generic in each case. It remains true, however, that although generic, the details are of such a character as to make it impossible that they should have been uttered without some peculiar knowledge of the divine plan, or at all events of the principles which underlie that plan.

5. *Cannot the superiority of the Hebrew stories be accounted for on purely natural grounds?* The effort to do this has been made many times, but always without success. It is just as great a mistake to throw out the supernatural element and try to explain everything from a purely natural view as it is to throw out the natural element and try to explain everything from the supernatural view. There is, without question, natural development, but in connection with this and permeating it through and through, there was a divine element. If we allow this divine element to be recognized as one of the factors, then everything may be said to be natural. It is impossible, however, to explain the presence of certain elements in Hebrew history and narrative, or the absence of the same elements in the history and narrative of contemporaneous nations, without asking why, if in the former case it was natural, it does not appear also in the latter?

6. *If these stories are divine why do men, Christians as well as skeptics, so largely fail to recognize the divine element?* No one will deny that few people comparatively believe in the historical or even the religious value of these stories. This does not disprove the divine element in them. It shows merely that these people deny a particular current interpretation of these stories, and that the world supposed that in the denial of this particular interpretation there is also a denial of the divine element in them. All this is wrong. A reasonable view of the narratives will receive acceptance. It is because men have been expected to adopt a thoroughly artificial and monstrous interpretation that they have been compelled to deny the divine element. When the real facts of the material are presented, and the true philos-

ophy of the divine element is understood, men will no longer hesitate to accept these chapters as an organic part of the divine word with which they are connected, and they will no longer make their unbelief in these chapters an excuse for their unbelief in the Bible as a whole.

The writer is conscious of the fact that his statements made in these lectures when they were originally delivered and repeated now in this more tangible form have been the subject of much discussion. These statements have been misunderstood and misinterpreted by some. There is much evidence, however, that the statements have been appreciated by many, and that they have been a source of help to not a few. To each of the three classes into which all readers were at first divided, it remains to say just a word.

Do not you who have always literalized the Scriptures now realize how impossible, how really dangerous it is to cling to a theory with so small a basis, a theory the only support of which is tradition and *a priori* argument? Do you not see that as surely as there is a God you are pulling him down into the dust, that you are degrading him whom you would honor? Will you longer dictate to him how to act and what to do and not rather, studying reverently and closely the events and deeds recorded, from these determine what he is and what is his method of dealing with men? I may be pardoned for repeating what has been said before. It was the literal and artificeal handling of Scripture which blinded the eyes of the Jews and led to the rejection of the Messiah when he came. This same literal and artificial method has blinded the eyes of men today, and as a result the Old Testament is practically rejected from being reckoned a part of the Divine Word. Why will you continue to place the letter *below* the spirit?

Of you who have never seen the hand of God in these holy pages, I ask for honest and candid thought. I do not blame you for failing to accept the literal and artificeal theory of which I have spoken. But show me why you should not accept this broader, yet simpler way of looking at these things. I have presented you a reasonable view. It is based upon scientific

evidence. It has come from an examination of the facts. It covers the facts as does no other hypothesis. If you will make this point of view your own, and henceforth read these chapters, remembering that there is something in them more than the human, your life will be quickened, you will come nearer to God, you will see what the divine writers have desired you to see, the magnitude of sin and the still greater magnitude of the love of God.

There were those whose attitude was that of indifference, but I cannot make myself believe that there is a man or woman who has carefully looked into the contents of these chapters, and after such investigation remained indifferent. Whatever view such an one may have had, whatever view he now holds, he has thrown aside, I am persuaded, his former apathy. These chapters have for him now a great significance, and with difficulties at least in part removed, with the way at least in part clearer, he will not know hereafter what it is to be indifferent to the highest, holiest, deepest things ever penned. It were better to be a skeptic than to be indifferent.

If I have helped any one by the publication of these papers, and the testimonials so frequently and kindly given convince me that I have, I thank God that he has furnished me the opportunity to do this service. If, on the other hand, my words have disturbed any ; if anything has been said which would weaken the faith in God or in the Christ, or in the Word, I sincerely trust that a higher power will counteract the injurious influence which my words may have exerted, and that to such persons there may be given special strength to resist the machinations of the evil one, who is at their side making every effort to persuade them that *truth* is harmful and that a search for truth may lead to wrong. It is not so. Truth is divine, and to try to find it is the most glorious work that man can do ; because searching for truth is searching for God.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

By REV. PROFESSOR J. S. RIGGS.
Auburn Theological Seminary.

V. GALILEE.

Great natural beauty of Galilee.—Three divisions of district.—Its boundaries.—Origin of the name Galilee.—Configuration of the country.—The great highway through it.—The Plain of Esdraelon, the scene of many great battles.—Nazareth.—Wide prospects and noble scenery.—Galilee in the path of commerce.—Josephus' figures for population of Galilee not improbable.—Influence of the district upon Jesus.—The Sea of Galilee.—Contrast of its present condition with what it was in Christ's time.—Capernaum was probably the present Khan Minzeh.—Location of Bethsaida.—The sacredness of Galilee to our memory.

FORTUNATE is the traveler who is not compelled to enter Palestine from the north and pass from the glory of Galilee to the rocky barrenness of Judea. Jerusalem is, indeed, before him and Bethlehem. Every part of the land is full of historic interest, but there is no finer setting of the pictures of the gospels than that which is made by the lake shore and the mountains of this favored region. Nature here has given of all her wealth—springs, brooks, broad, fertile plains, gentle hills, pleasant valleys, protecting mountains and a noble lake. The bracing air upon the hills and the softer climate of the lake-basin have made possible the widest variety of products from the land, and the sea has done well its part in supplying human needs.

We can best study it all, and from our study gain some conception of the relation of the land to its history, by dividing it into three parts: (1) the great plain of Esdraelon, (2) the mountainous district, and (3) the lake.

Before taking these up separately let us mark the boundaries and extent of the whole. On the north, the natural boundary is the river Leontes, or Litany, which ranks next to the Jordan and flows with winding course, down a deep gorge to the Mediterranean. On the East, the Jordan and the lakes of Merom

and of Galilee make the natural limit; on the south, a line passing from the Jordan along the southern side of the plain of Esdraelon and running along Carmel to the sea. On the west, Phœnicia. The eastern and southern boundaries changed at times, but when these were as given above, all four included a space of about 1600 square miles. From Jenin on the southern border to the Leontes is about fifty miles, and it is about one-half that distance across the land from east to west. It was not until the time of the Maccabees that that name which appears in our New Testament—"The Galilee"—came to denote the whole northern region. The real reason why the Greek article is used with this word in nearly every case in the New Testament (it is wanting only twice) is that this beautiful land, widening from the small "circuit" which at first included only a few cities on the eastern side, became at last "*the circuit*," "*the Galilee*" *par excellence*.

Taking up our division into plain, mountains and lake, let me ask you, in order to gain a clear conception of the first, the plain, to go with me to the western slope of the hill of Moreh, which rises back of Shunem. From our place of outlook we can command the whole plain, and the triangular shape of it is at once discernible. If we make Carmel the base of the triangle we have for one of the sides a line passing north and south through our standing place and another running nearly east and west along the base of the Nazareth hills. In crude outline it may be given as on opposite page.

Two prominent openings into it are on the eastern side of the triangle—the plain extending to Mount Tabor and the valley of Jezreel which, with broad sweep, goes down to the Jordan. Away at the northwestern corner, where the northern hills come close to Carmel, is the narrow pass of the river Kishon. The configuration of it all is the best interpreter of its troubled history.

From the bay of Acre at the northwest, just beyond the pass of the Kishon; from the plain of Dothan which is separated from it by only moderate hills on the south and which itself opens easily into the maritime plain; from the valley of Jezreel

with its ascent from the Jordan; from the opening near Tabor into the upland by the lake,—ready access was found to this broad undulating fertile plain. It is *the* highway across Palestine. Here was space for chariots; and armies, either from Egypt, or the west, or the east, made it their pathway to the East or to the Sea. Because of its character and position every part of it is rich in historic associations. Over there nearly opposite us, where the Nazareth hills approach Carmel, was the camp of



Sisera by the pass of Kishon; around at our left, as we face the west, was the scene of Gideon's brilliant rout of the Midianites who were encamped just below the hill of Moreh while Gideon was on the slope of Gilboa opposite; just beneath us is the old camp of the Philistines at Shunem who gathered against Saul and defeated him on Gilboa; there at Megiddo, Josiah attempted the defeat of the Egyptian host and was himself defeated; and south of us near Jenin was the camp of Holofernes. Near Carmel were the camps of the Roman armies. Again, at the foot of the very hill on which we are standing was a stronghold of the Crusaders, and here, too, the French routed the Turks. And even now the Bedouin swarm up the valley of Jezreel and make

themselves a terror. As we looked out upon the peaceful scene one bright sunny day when the laborers were busy in the fields and the charm of the whole landscape with its frame of mountains came completely before us, it was difficult to realize that this peace had so often been broken by the terrible ferocity of war. There is no other spot in the world quite like it. It has been "big with destiny." It has been compared "to a vast theater with its clearly defined stage, with its proper exits and entrances," and the figure is striking, for the drama both of nations and of religion itself has had some of its most significant scenes here—so significant, indeed, as to suggest the symbolism of that greater conflict of the Apocalypse "the battle of the great day of God Almighty . . . when the kings of the whole world shall be gathered together unto the place which is called in Hebrew Har-Magedon."

In vivid contrast to all this is that quiet, yet thrilling scene of the gospels which was enacted here upon the very slope of the hill of Moreh—when the sad procession, just coming out of the gate of the city of Nain, was met by the Savior, and its mourning turned into unspeakable joy by the restoration of the widow's son to life.

As we turn to go northward into the mountain district, two ways are open to us. Either we can go around Tabor and ascend to the plateau near the lake, passing the ruined fortress on Tabor which guarded this road, or we can take the road leading us directly to Nazareth. We take the latter, and soon find ourselves climbing all the circuitous way which brings us into the very heart of the hills and to Nazareth itself. One cannot forget, as one looks upon the place, that here Christ spent the greatest part of his life, and as the scene is characteristic of the hill country of Galilee, we may well stay by a while and study it. The present Nazareth is lower down the hill than was the ancient town, but whatever the changes in the place itself, the hills are there as Christ looked upon them. We can get our best view from the ridge back of the town, and our climb is rewarded by a prospect that is as varied as it is interesting. Looking south, the whole western portion of the plain of Esdraelon is spread out

before us, and on beyond it, Mount Gilboa and the high hills of Samaria. As we face toward the south, on our right, beyond the hills, gleam the waters of the Mediterranean. Turning from the sea toward the north, our eyes fall upon one end of the large, fertile plain of Asochis, and yet more directly north on the higher hills of upper Galilee, while over toward the northeast, we can discern the borders of the lake basin and the valley of the Jordan, and far away in the distance, snowy Hermon. If wide prospect and noble scenery make their impress upon the mind, what a joy this scene must have been to the opening mind of the Christ-child! And that hill-top carries one really away from what is called "the exclusion of Nazareth." To have known anything of Jewish history, must have made one feel on that hill-top, back of the city, how close by it all had been.

Then, too, in any geographical study of Galilee, one must not forget the place and importance of the great roads that crossed it and their relation to the cities and villages. Galilee was much nearer the life of the world than was Judea. Over her great highways merchants were passing and repassing, soldiers were dispatched, officials journeyed. And some of these important roads were but a little way from Nazareth. One of the great roads from Damascus came up from the Jordan to the plateau on the western side of the lake and crossed to Acco by Cana and Sepphoris; another passed around Tabor, crossed the plain and then went southwest to Gaza and Egypt. Is it supposable that these came so near Nazareth, and yet it knew nothing of all that such thoroughfares imply? The more we have come to know of these great roads, the more we feel that the estimates of both Dr. Merrill and Professor Smith regarding Nazareth as being in the very midst of the life of its generation, rather than isolated from it, are worthy of consideration. As the latter has said, "the pressure and problems of the world outside God's people must have been felt by the youth of Nazareth as by few others."

There is a clear line of division in the mountain district itself. If one were to draw a line across the map from the upper end of the lake of Galilee to the coast, and then mark the mountains,

he would find that all those north of the line were considerably higher. The average of those below the line is under 2000 feet, while above it there are those as high as 4000. This latter fact makes the scenery of upper Galilee imposing, and yet it does not take the stern, forbidding character of Judea. Everywhere the land was fertile. The region all about Safed, "the city set on a hill," was marked for its fertility, and Josephus speaks of the land as "inviting by its productiveness, even those who had the least inclination for agriculture; it is everywhere productive." One must take these, and other statements like them, which could be quoted, into account when the matter of the population in the time of Christ is to be considered. For example, it is said that for sixteen miles about Sepphoris (a city not far from Cana) "the region was fertile, flowing with milk and honey." It is not surprising, therefore, that near the beautiful open valleys, and on the gentler slopes of lower Galilee and on the hill-tops in upper Galilee, many cities existed. Josephus says that altogether there were 204 of them—the smallest of which numbered above 15,000 inhabitants.¹ This makes, indeed, a large population, but considering the conditions of the land, its trade interests and its lake industry, and the packed way of living in the cities, this is not improbable.² How it all intensifies the picture which the gospel gives when it says that as "Jesus went about all the cities and villages teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness" (Matt. 9:35). In view of them, with their thousands of needy souls, he could pathetically say, "the harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few."

Such, in brief, is the mountain district of Galilee—a land of valleys between beautiful hills; of mountains that are imposing but not barren; of springs and watercourses that were the very symbols of life; of vines and fruit trees and grain-fields that gave support to a great population; of roads and caravansaries and places of customs that kept its people in close touch with the world beyond; of cities and towns that themselves teemed

¹ Life, XLV.

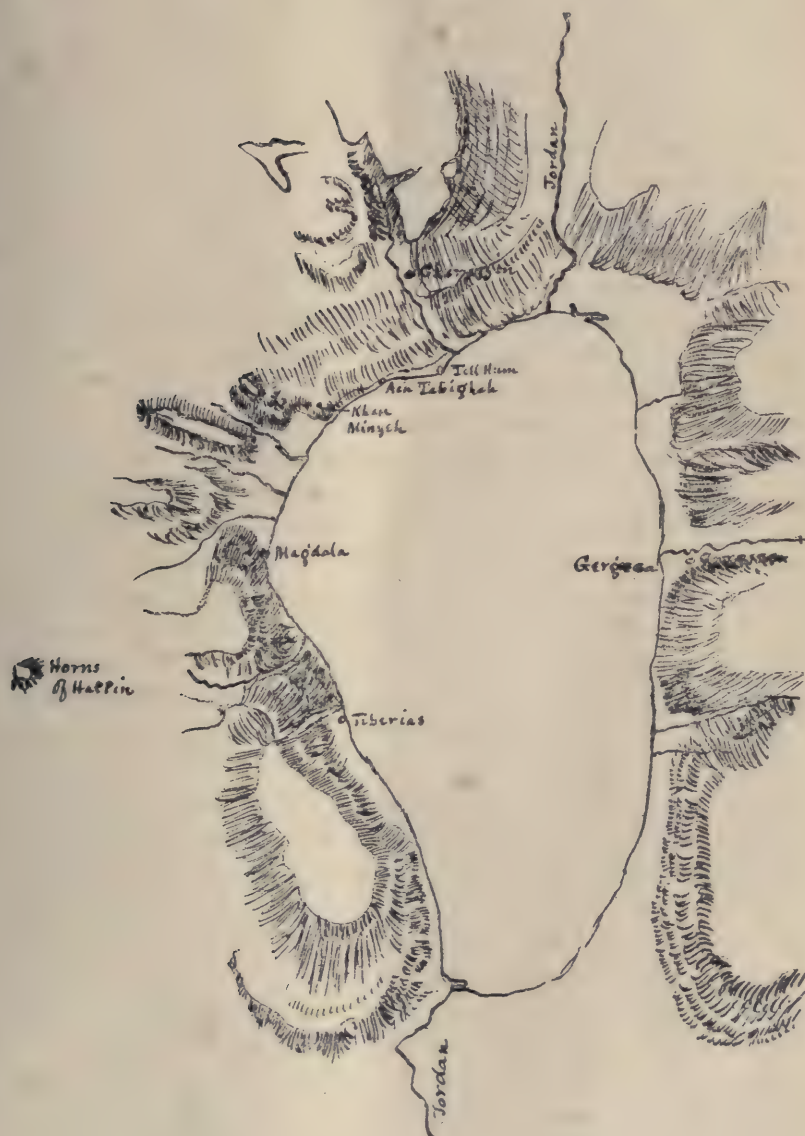
² See for other reasons Merrill's "Galilee in the Time of Christ," p. 64 ff.

with activity. In Galilee Christ may have learned far more of the world than we are accustomed to think. His meditations upon his mission and upon himself may have gained increasing definiteness from the very environment of this busy, eager province. Nazareth was only six hours from Ptolemais on the coast—the port for Roman traffic; it was only two hours from Tabor, Nain, and Endor; one-and-one-half from Cana and Sepphoris, and itself a city. It is not an extravagant supposition that Christ may have been in all of these neighboring cities during those years of which we know so little. There is only one place on this mountain district beside Nazareth that is mentioned in the New Testament, and that is Cana. The modern traveler is taken to the village of Kefr Kenna, and shown the water pots and the place of the wedding scene. Another site claims the honor of that imperishable incident, but the position of Kefr Kenna on the road from Nazareth to the lake, argues for it rather than for the other.

From all that we know of the Sea of Galilee the contrast between its present appearance and that of the days when Peter and John fished in its waters and Christ taught by its shores is sharp and saddening. It was our privilege to look down upon it for the first time from the Horns of Hattin on a lovely day in April, when the hills all about were covered with verdure and the waters were as blue as the sky they reflected. We had prepared ourselves for disappointment, and had we gazed upon the scene a month or so later, when the hot sun had withered the grass and taken away the glory of the spring time, we should have had no such delightful memories of the whole region as we gained that day. Despite the desolate shores and the deserted lake surface it was charming, and, as the sun, toward evening, cast long shadows from the western hills across the still waters and the coolness of twilight invited one to walk along the beach, we could understand how a Rabbi might say, "Jehovah hath created seven seas, but the Sea of Gennesaret is his delight." What it was in Christ's time we shall see in a moment. The general shape of the lake can be best seen on the accompanying outline (on p. 429). It is twelve miles long and about eight broad at its widest part. The hills

on the western side close in upon it except in two places, viz., just below Tiberias and just above Magdala. There is quite a recession of the hills at the northeast corner and a narrow space runs nearly all along the eastern shore. From the source of the Jordan to its entrance into the lake the river has made a considerable descent, for the surface of the lake is about 680 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. In this great depression is a climate like that of the tropics. One can see in a moment from the configuration of the shores how the lake is quickly and violently tossed by the winds. Down the gorges through which the streams find their way the cooler winds of the uplands are drawn as through funnels and almost without warning they lash the lake-surface and place anything upon it in peril. These sudden violent squalls but repeat the "storms" which are the setting of some of the vivid events of the gospels.

When we referred to the contrast in the present appearance of the lake to that of Christ's day, we had in mind especially the life and thrift at that time everywhere apparent. Tiberias with its wretched poverty, and the miserable Mejdal (Magdala) are now the only places of human habitation, and one has no desire to linger by either of them. We had difficulty in securing a single boat to carry us over to Capernaum. The blight of the Turk is upon this fair region. What must have been the charm of the scene, when added to all its own attractiveness, there was that of hundreds of boats moving in all directions; of beautiful palaces with fruitful gardens all along the shore; of large towns full of activity and of highways busy with trade. Nine or more cities stood on or near the shores, and every phase of life was represented in them. The region of Gennesaret which begins at Magdala and extends along the lake according to Josephus thirty furlongs with an average breadth of twenty furlongs was the very "garden of the Lord." In its genial climate and soil flourished the walnut, the palm, the fig tree and the olive, exhibiting, as Josephus says, "an ambitious effort of nature, doing violence to herself in bringing together plants of discordant habits and an amicable rivalry of the seasons, each, as it were, asserting her right to the soil."



With the deepest interest one comes to this part of the land and of the lake, for here the Lord spent, if we count his whole ministry, three and one-half years, *two* of these momentous years making Capernaum "his own city," doing many mighty works both in Bethsaida and Chorazin, and going from this region for his tours in upper and lower Galilee. All three cities Bethsaida, Chorazin and Capernaum are in question. Taking Josephus' description of the extent of Gennesaret, Capernaum may well be placed at Khan Minzeh. It then stood upon an elevation commanding in position, and it was near the point where the roads from the south and the west turned into the road to Damascus. The ruins of the synagogue at the present Tell Hum signify little for the determination of the site, and there is much more to be said for Khan Minzeh than for this. Chorazin is placed about two and one-half miles northwest of Tell Hum on the left bank of a valley which comes down to the lake near Tell Hum. Bethsaida, if there were two Bethsaidas, was probably at Ain Tabighah. There is much to support this, and, if we accept it, the beautiful shore that here skirts the lake is a memorable place. Its gentle sandy slope is admirably adapted for fishing boats. Here upon the beach the multitude stood while Jesus spake to them from a boat just off from shore—and to this the wondering fishermen came back with their miraculous draught of fishes and "then left all and followed him." But Bethsaida and Chorazin and Capernaum, all of them exalted in privilege, have met an earthly judgment which has made even their actual sites doubtful. In the day of their privilege they were busy, thriving towns, in touch with the outside world; apparently "too busy" to care for the teachings of a prophet from Nazareth. On the open space at the northeast of the lake occurred the feeding of the five thousand, and at some distance back from the shore by the river Jordan stood Bethsaida Julias. The scene of the cure of the demoniac is located near Gergesa on the east side below the Wady Semakh. How much of the story of the gospels plays upon the northern end of this lake! Here were the beginnings of Christianity in the lives of those disciples who slowly learned the meaning of his words and deeds

Again we must call attention to the position of it all. Why did Christ go to Gennesaret to make his home? Why did he spend so much time about the northern end of this favored lake? Was it not the very character of the people that called him hither? Galilee was loyal in faith, indeed more so to the law than Judea, but it was also more generous and large-minded because of its closer contact with other peoples. Here he would find his first disciples: here he himself wished to move, in touch with the broader influences of life, and no place on earth has more hallowed associations, unless it be the slopes of Olivet. The pictures that were made by its fields, its vineyards, its highways, its streets and lanes are all in the Gospels. Here by day he went about doing good, and when night came with its "deep, blue sky, spangled with the brilliancy of innumerable stars," he went aside to pray. Mountains, lake, and the heavens above them,—all speak of him.

SAUL BEN-KISH.

BY ROBERT KERR ECCLES, M. D.,
Salem, O.

A nation's first king.—Ground of Israel's demand.—Election of Saul.—His early vigor and piety.—Philistine wars.—Deterioration of character.—Relations with David.—Battle of Gilboa and death of Saul.

A first king is always a prodigy to the after generations of the people among whom his prominence was achieved; and not unjustly, for the man who wrests for the first time from his peers the reverence and submission on which kingship is founded must be in some practical way the superior of his contemporaries. *Magnus* is at the root of *majestas*, really as well as verbally, and we may be sure that the personality lying behind a Theseus or a Romulus was of no ordinary mold. And then, as might be expected, the fascination of such special preëminence stimulates whatever of poetic faculty is in the people over whom it has been won; and so it comes to pass that what the man himself is—"the bright, particular star," as it were—has further affixed to it in story a halo of romance; an appendage which, while not strictly historical, always gives to the less glistening facts around which it accumulates, an added formative influence on at least the unsophisticated mind. Did not Theseus appear and help his Hellenes at Marathon?

But while the histories of most first kings thus take on a legendary cast, the history of the first king of the Hebrews is a striking exception. It stands before us with all the clearness of simple narrative. What is called the "supernatural" is present in the record because it was present in the occurrences. Saul lived in a period when the religious education of our race needed phenomena of this kind. Just as in the geologic world a period of abrupt and cataclysmic change preceded the present tranquillity and regularity, so in the religious world a period of signs and wonders preceded the present comparative uniformity.

He who admits the existence of a megatherium may admit the occurrence of a miracle; both are facts, if preliminary and passing. But the element of the supernatural, though present in the history of Saul, is not there to an extent to withdraw it from the business and bosoms of us who are walking in the morning-red of the twentieth century *anno Domini*. We can follow the ill-fated monarch with genuine human sympathy, even when he is nearest the spirit land. His story is singular, solemn, sublime. Thoughtful students gather round it as Israel camped round Sinai. Out of darkness, thunder-riven, God speaks. Much we can understand, but some things are awful and incomprehensible. In its simplicity mingled with a certain largeness and tragicalness, this narrative is the Æschylean tale of the Hebrews.

The weird is the outcome of disordered times. Like the beast of the Apocalypse it emerges from a troubled sea. And Saul, himself and his history, could only develop during an era transitional and troublous,—an era when Israel, frequently harassed and always threatened from without, found its chief danger from within. Disintegration seemed imminent. The common worship of Jehovah was of too subtle and refined a nature to exercise a unifying influence on its gross and materialistic people. They longed for the centre of loyalty and confidence possessed by other nations—a king. To this change in the plan of the nation's government, arising as it did from unspirituality, Samuel, the venerable prophet-judge, was strenuously opposed. He declared that from the religious side it was ungrateful wickedness, and from the political side unmitigated folly to reject God and endow any one of their fellows with the dangerous prerogatives of a monarch. But in spite of his denunciations, warnings, and entreaties, the people persisted in counting themselves unworthy of their unique position as the kingdom of God. And, alas! for the stout old prophet, his witnessing for the expiring *régime* was largely neutralized by the sordid and unprincipled conduct of his sons, whom he had himself inducted into office as his successors in the judgeship. Yet it was only when directly admonished by God to desist that he withdrew his

official opposition, and with a submission to the divine requirement which does highest credit to his piety, stifling all public expression of his antagonism both as saint and statesman to the popular movement, he awaited events.

Nor had he long to wait. Soon by divine premonition he knew that within "a day" the man chosen of heaven to be future king would present himself. And even then a young man of Benjamin is hesitating about pursuing further a fruitless search after some lost asses. But on the recommendation of his servant and on the discovery of sufficient "backsheesh" in an almost exhausted scrip, he consents to submit the matter to the wisdom of a "seer," "a man of God, an honorable man" in a city close by. Following the genially loquacious directions of some maidens who had come out to draw water, anon the inquirers find themselves in the presence of Samuel. How natural and how pleasing the contrasts brought out in this incident. Though the question of a nation's welfare is in the quivering scale, yet asses must be looked after, and water pots filled; and in the tissue of the divine arrangement the large and the small intertwine.

Saul and Samuel face to face! It is a notable meeting. To the prophet the inner voice speaks, "This same shall rule over my people Israel." Just on his way to give his benediction to a public ceremonial, he assures the young man of the recovery of the straying property and takes him along. Among the distinguished guests present at the solemnity he treats him with special consideration. In the privacy of the evening retirement he reveals to him the mind of God more fully. In the early morning he accompanies his guest to the suburbs of the city, and there in perfect solitude bestows the royal chrism. Beneath this lofty unction it was impossible for even the modest Saul to cherish further doubt. His calling and election were sure. At once his whole being began to accommodate itself to the exalted conviction. He feels the stress of *noblesse oblige*. On his way home the truth of Samuel's principal assurance was established by the fulfillment in series of a number of minor predictions given by the prophet as confirmations. When the last and crowning incident of this nature, a company of prophets in the wreathed

"chain" of a dance executed to music met him, Saul's enthusiasm reached its height; "The spirit of Jehovah came upon him," and revealing under the intense excitement a strain of poetry hitherto unexpected, but which afterwards showed itself at certain crises of his life, he flung aside his hike and joined in their dance and improvisations. His acquaintances, who had not previously seen anything of the rhapsode in the stalwart young farmer, exclaimed, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" and hereafter this query became a proverb expressing surprise at the occurrence of the unexpected mingled perhaps with a little incredulity. An uncle of the neophyte, with more insight than the others, suspected that this mental exaltation of his nephew had something to do with his recent visit to Samuel. But, though interrogated, the youth, with that reticence so frequently the gift of men of large body, kept his secret to himself.

Thus was Saul privately prepared for his high destiny. But the people must "know" him who was "over them in the Lord." The office of public installation was twofold. The first occurred at Mizpah and was local. Samuel was of course the chief officiator, and with the "Stone of Help" in view, with its glorious memories, the old man may be pardoned if he prefaced his duties with some lamentation over the people's lapse from the theocratic relation. He then submitted to divine decision the question, who was to be the first king of Israel? The lot by successively narrowing circles finally rested on Saul Ben-Kish. The young man, who, as we have seen, already knew his destiny, dreaded these public formalities, and attempted to avoid them by hiding himself among the baggage which was drawn up around this national camping-ground. He was, however, soon discovered, and by a kindly violence placed before the people. At sight of the blushing giant, even the prophet felt the influence of "goodliness" of body, especially when connected with an absence of ostentation, and in words which even yet convey a genuine admiration, he addressed the people, and said: "Look ye on him whom Jehovah has chosen, there is none like him among all the people." And those who heard this vigorous "Ecce homo," when they saw before them one who so fully

answered their physical ideal of a king made the "Watch Tower" and "The Tooth" and even "The Stone of Help" to reverberate that cry to be afterwards heard so frequently and under such varied circumstances,—“Long live the King.” But as approbation, however general, is never absolutely universal, there were some malcontents. The insults offered by these “worthless fellows,” though open and deliberate, were, with a restraint not often illustrated by those new to power, ignored by Saul.

The ability of the young monarch was soon tested. An Ammonite invasion had been for some time impending. Indeed preparation for this was an element of urgency in the appointment of a king. In about a month, if we accept the Septuagint version, the storm burst and Nahash threatened Jabesh-gilead with a doom unusually wanton and cruel. Amid the terrified and weeping people Saul acted on Samuel's advice on the morning of the anointing: “Do thou as occasion serves thee, for God is with thee.” With the vigorous promptness of a veteran chieftain, the farmer-monarch adopted an expedient not unknown in the history of Benjamin. He hewed in pieces the yoke of oxen he was driving when the ill news arrived. The bleeding members were sent through “the coast of Israel.” To the summons of this gruesome symbol there was a general response. So thoroughly were the Ammonites discomfited that “two of them were not left together.” But even in this uprising of the Hebrew nation we detect that “little rift” which would “slowly widen” into the future disruption. The census of Judah is taken apart from that of Israel.

The fertility of device and firmness of temper exhibited in this matter of Jabesh-Gilead made Saul the darling of his people. They would, with Oriental fervency, have proved their devotion by putting to death those who had insulted their favorite. But here again Saul's averseness to the shedding of blood showed itself; he firmly refused to have the lustre of such a day of deliverance sullied by useless severity. Samuel, on the watch to strengthen the hands of the young monarch in every legitimate way, utilized this prevalent enthusiasm to secure for his *protégé* a larger recognition as king than had been possible at Mizpah. He hastened

to convene a meeting at historic Gilgal. Here in the first days of the occupation the people had by the resumption of the rite of circumcision "rolled away the reproach of Egypt." Here, then, "the kingdom should be renewed." The new dynasty should be "broad-based upon a people's will." A plebiscite was taken. "There they made Saul king before Jehovah in Gilgal." Upon this fitting theatre closed the period of the judges and opened the period of the kings. Samuel announced his retirement from public life, and in his valedictory words reiterated his regret at the downward step which the people had taken, but, knowing that hopelessness is the enemy of virtuous effort, with a tender consideration went on to add that even on the lower platform of national existence which they had chosen, if both they and the king should continue following Jehovah, it would be well with them. That a conscious Deity still took interest in Israel he demonstrated by invoking successfully "thunder and rain" in the parched months of wheat harvest. He comforted them with an allusion to the covenant by which it had pleased God to make them his people, and with an assurance that though as a judge he no longer moved among them, yet that as a priest he would pray for them, and as a prophet teach them "the good and right way." With these words of compassion and encouragement, Samuel left the governmental stage free to Saul.

The curtain now falls for a time upon the life of Saul. When it rises again, after an interval perhaps of fifteen years, it is no longer the retiring youth in affectionate and dependent alliance with Samuel, who is disclosed. It is a veteran warrior in the practice of his trade, and with whom Samuel is only occasionally present. In his obscurity he has been waging war with the Philistines, but so unsuccessfully that these, from being invaders, threaten to become occupiers of a central portion of his kingdom. The spirit of the nation is completely broken. The army consists of only three thousand men, and is rather a body of personal retainers than a national force. Many of the people have betaken them to the mountain hiding-places. The Philistines have taken care to deprive the farmers of such tools as

might be available in warfare, and not unwisely, since sometimes, in the hands of an indigent but indignant people, the pruning hook has become a spear, and the plowshare a sword. No forge was worked by an Israelite, and if even a goad needed to be sharpened it had to be taken to a Philistian smith. In Saul and his handful of household troops was the attenuated continuity of Israelitish nationality alone preserved. The principal portion of these held the heights of Michmash. Beneath was a deep ravine, and on the opposite side some Philistines were encamped at Geba. Upon the rear and left flank of these were posted a thousand men under Jonathan, who for the first time steps upon the scene a mature and capable guerilla warrior. His position of vantage enabled him by sudden assault to exterminate the neighboring garrison. Saul bruited this daring deed throughout the land, to stimulate the faltering courage of his people. But the affair only awoke the Philistines to more violent aggression. They entered the land "in multitude as the sand which is on the seashore." Saul fell back on Gilgal, as the best gathering place for the nation. The ever-increasing host of the enemy was only ten miles away. His own army was hourly dwindling. The campaign had begun irregularly by his hasty action in making the temporary success of Jonathan a signal for a general rising. It should have been heedfully entered upon with solemn sacrificial rites performed by Samuel as the high priest of the nation. And now at Gilgal the impetuous monarch would rectify his mistake. There, according to appointment, he purposed to wait seven days for the coming of Samuel. But the tension became extreme. His people were deserting him, and the attack of the Philistines was likely soon to be made. In such crises men's characters are revealed to their depths. Saul's inveterate self-confidence was laid bare. His subordination to Samuel in any respect had been always irksome to him. At such a conjuncture as the present it was intolerable. If Samuel had the interests of Israel as deeply at heart as he, why was he not present? But why, indeed, should this preliminary rite of sacrifice be alone entrusted to one who was only lingering superfluous on the public stage? How fertile the fretful spirit in such queries! Perhaps the hard and worldly spirit

of the monarch saw in this deferred sacrificial rite only a histrionic device to affect favorably the fainting spirits of a superstitious people, and if so, why might not he perform it as well as another? But with so little of detail before us we can only imperfectly surmise the character of Saul's soul wanderings. We do, however, know that these seven days of anxious expectancy were crucial days to him. "He that believeth shall not make haste." But he had not that confidence in his mission as God's agent for the deliverance of Israel which would have enabled him to "stand still and see the salvation of God." He cannot hold his irritable impatience in check. Before the completion of the seventh day he began the service of sacrifice, in the continued absence of Samuel. It was to consist of two parts, a burnt offering and a peace offering. Scarcely had the smoke of the burnt offering ceased to stain the sky when Samuel was present. Sternly he denounced this act of impetuous prematurity: "Thou hast done foolishly. Thou hast not kept the commandment of Jehovah. Thy kingdom shall not continue." It would be unworthy of the whole history of Samuel to consider these words as the language of an intolerant priest denouncing an infringement of his functions. As in the sacrifice of Cain, the ritualistic irregularity implied moral depravity in the offerer. Saul's insubordination, impatience, and disobedience were unworthy of his elevated place, and dangerous as an example to his people. He was unfit for the throne. Tested as a king he was found a "castaway." "Now thy kingdom shall not continue," said Samuel.

Nor had this impious and unfortunate action the temporary success which Saul had hoped would accrue from it. When he retired to Gibeah his followers were reduced by desertions to six hundred men. Again, it is Jonathan's personal prowess that stayed the falling fortunes of Israel. The Philistines were encamped close by. In three divisions their raiders were devastating the land. Their principal garrison was perched on a triple summit in Michmash. Against this the crown prince devised his act of daring. Accompanied by his armor-bearer, and under covert of its rocky sides, he clambered to the top, and there wrought so great a slaughter that the defenders evacuated the position in

such haste as to throw the camp beneath, weakened as it was by the large numbers detailed on foraging expeditions, into a general panic. The Israelitish watchmen soon detected the unusual confusion. Saul was at a loss to account for it, and sent for the ephod to make inquiry of Jehovah. But as he heard the noise beneath increase, his warrior spirit irreverently arrested the appeal to heaven. Like "the wild roe of Israel" he sprung with his little band of trained warriors upon the rout, invoking with his usual recklessness a curse upon him who, at such a critical conjuncture in the affairs of his country, arrested his sword to take food. There was a general rising of the people, and only at Aijalon did fatigue and the approach of night compel a halt. The ill effects of Saul's rash imprecation were now apparent. The victors in the pressure of their hunger disregarded the usual ritual regulations in the hasty preparation of their food. To obviate this error Saul appointed a sort of central *abattoir*, and to expiate the guilt erected an altar. But a further and more personally poignant effect was to be experienced by Saul. No celestial phenomenon lengthened the day as when Joshua smote the Amorite in this neighborhood. The question of a night pursuit was therefore debated. When the divine determination was sought there was no reply. The pollution of some crime lay upon the camp. On investigation Jonathan was found to have tasted a little honey. The unintentional misdemeanor at once offered himself as the piacular victim for the people, and Saul in his martial frenzy would no doubt have anticipated the accursed *Imperia Manliana* of Roman history, and immolated his son on the battle-field, had not the army interfered with such unanimous firmness that even the furious despot withdrew from his purpose. Nor was this the only time when Saul sought to slay Jonathan. His bearing towards his favorite son is inexplicable, for while usually tenderly affectionate, it sometimes betrayed a malignant suspicion, founded it would seem on some painful occurrence in his mother's history.

War was Saul's life long occupation. He fought at intervals against Moab, and Ammon, and Edom, and Zobah, but ever with the irrepressible Philistines, His treasure and his time were

spent principally upon his army. Like an Oriental Frederick William, "When he saw any strong man or any valiant man he took him unto him." At length arrived the grand climacteric of his moral life. Samuel as the mouthpiece of Heaven, deputed to him the most solemn duty which can be required at the hands of a man—the extermination of the Amalekites. It was a popular undertaking, and Heaven's executioner found himself at the head of two hundred and ten thousand men,—a gathering which suggests the hordes which went on the early crusades, or followed the Mahdi recently in the Soudan. Notwithstanding this vast equipment Saul did not, as he might have done, root out this brigand tribe. This their inroads soon after upon the Philistine and Hebrew borders, of which the assault on Ziklag was a part, made evident. He harried the country from Havilah to Shur, and destroyed everything along his path. But as Samuel's accusation sets forth, though commissioned to fight against the Amalekites till they were utterly destroyed, he "did not hearken to the voice of Jehovah, but flew upon the spoil." Instead of being the Sword of incorruptible justice falling with the unswerving, passionless steadiness of the lightning flash, with stolid insensibility to the judicial elevation of his mission, he degenerated into a mere "riever," a sort of royal Rob Roy. He converted the sacred war into a raid for spoil, and even brought away the reigning Agag to grace as a captive the pomp, and perhaps, along with holocausts of cattle, to die in the crowning sacrifice of the triumph. Unconscious of the terrible magnitude of his dereliction, and full of pride, he had re-entered his country, and after setting up a monumental pillar on the southern Carmel, was slowly advancing with his train of booty when Samuel met him. In what seemed the very vicegerency of Heaven he had failed, and the doom so long threatened falls: "Jehovah hath rent the kingdom from thee, and given it to a neighbor that is worthier than thou."

Saul's deterioration was now rapid. He became the prey of despair and suspicion. The inward susceptibility which had left him open to those excesses of mental exaltation which were the wonder of his friends, disposed him in his present spiritual isola-

tion to fits of deepest gloom. Music and song were remedies in these times of melancholy. So David came to court, for in Israel no fingers were more skillful than his upon the harp, and no *improvisatore* could pour forth such lyrics. With a king the victim of these insane aberrations, the kingdom could not flourish. The Philistines again invaded the country, and that in braggart fashion. Then occurred David's victory over Goliath, celebrated by that chorus of Hebrew women who in the joy of recent deliverance indiscreetly exaggerated the successes of the shepherd-warrior as compared with those of Saul, and thus unwittingly awakened the monarch's suspicion and hate. By secret and open methods Saul sought the life of David, till finally he drove him from court and the settled habitations of men to fly as "a partridge in the mountains." The fugitive became a Hebrew Robin Hood, true to his king, the enemy of the oppressor, and the shield of the oppressed. Two-thirds of the story of Saul consists in affecting tales of this unrelenting persecution, borne by its victim with a chivalrous loyalty unparalleled. Adullam, Nob, Bethlehem, Engedi, and Hachilah, the place of final tearful parting, are names never to be forgotten.

Samuel died, alas! not before he had heard of the massacre of the priests at Nob. Saul was now alone, and the end of the tragedy rapidly drew on. In his exaggerated fear and unrelenting pursuit of David he had left the land comparatively unprotected. The Philistines, therefore, pushed forward into the vale of Esdraelon. They covered the slopes of little Hermon about Shunem. Saul confronted them on Gilboa. But he "was afraid and his heart trembled greatly." The decisive day of the campaign was approaching. He was seized with an irrepressible desire to know what was for him in the future. He sought to allay this craving by legitimate methods. But dream and prophet and "Urim and Thummim, those oracular gems," were all irresponsive. Jehovah in mercy gave no answer. But the headstrong despot would notwithstanding pierce into the *arcana* divinely reserved from his knowledge. In his exceeding exigency he became untrue to the tenor of his past life, and resorted (for men adrift from God have no basis

of consistency) to necromancers whom in the early part of his reign he had adjudged only worthy of death. How significant in this development the words of Samuel, "Rebellion" against God "is as the sin of witchcraft"! Beyond the enemy's lines, at Endor, lived a woman reputed to be a vehicle (*ob*, bottle) which was "filled" with "a familiar spirit." To her on the evening before the battle he resorts in disguise. Never as in this story has the *Nekyomanteia* (illicit converse with the dead) been so set forth. How much of the ghastly phenomena was subjective to the nigh distraught monarch it is impossible to say. But, whatever was its nature, that uncanny night left him a nerveless, hopeless man. Next day the scythe of war passed over "the high places of Gilboa," and the "bubbling fountain" which gave the hill its name was distained with Hebrew blood. The accounts of the last moments of a warrior slain in the *mêlée* of a disastrous field are seldom clear. Perhaps the order of incidents attending Saul's death is the following. Sore wounded by the Philistine archers, he solicited death at the hands of his armor-bearer, but was refused such awful service at the hands of a subject. He then attempted suicide by falling on his sword, but in his wounded state only imperfectly accomplished his purpose. While reclining supported by his spear, in his pain he entreated a young man who happened to be by, "Stand, I pray thee, upon me, and slay me." And the young man, not influenced so much by compassion, as by the prospect of certain possible advantages to be received from David when he could assuredly announce to him the persecutor's death, placed his foot on the body of the fallen king and gave him the *coup de grâce*. Stern is the Nemesis which follows disobedience to the divine will. The man beneath whose heel Saul poured out his life's blood was "the son of a stranger, an AMALEKITE."

Exploration and Discovery.

THE BANQUET OF PAHERI.

By J. HUNT COOKE,
London, England.

About the year 1500 B.C., some thirty-three centuries ago, there was a festive banquet held at El Kab, one of the principal cities of the third nome of Upper Egypt. It was in honor of a deceased prince, a ruler of the district of the name of Paheri. He is described on the monument as a scribe of the corn account, "superintendent of corn-land of the South district, excellent satisfier of the desire of his master from Perhakior as far as Nekheb." This and other inscriptions of that age show that there were some peculiar government arrangements in regard to corn in Egypt just at that period and so far confirm the history of Joseph, recorded in the book of Genesis.

The banquet was of sufficient consequence to be recorded on the tomb of Paheri. The report was given by a large representation of the scene, with brief descriptions. It gives a side light on the manners of the age. A very careful account of the tomb of Paheri, with plates of its scenes and inscriptions, has been published by the Egypt Exploration Fund in its eleventh memoir just issued. The guests are in rows, each seated on the ground in the same attitude, one knee down and one up. Each has a peculiar conical cap generally found in such representations. There are fourteen gentlemen and twelve ladies. Each one, with but two exceptions, holds a large lotus lily in his hand, some in bud, some in full flower. Most are engaged in either smelling its fragrance, or regarding its beauty. A refined, gentle taste, not now much cultivated with us. We have all heard the jest of the æsthetic young couple visiting a restaurant and calling for a glass of water and a lily. Apparently this would not have been very preposterous in those ancient days. Every lady has a lily on her forehead making what must have been a very pretty head dress. All the men are clean shaven. Their attire is not very dissimilar to that of the women, tight fitting dresses with large collars. In addition the men have belts, but what is significant, not one has a weapon, and there is no allusion to war. The first gentleman is said to be "Herari, the brother of the Scribe, he is making a holiday and receives all good things." The prince's butler attends him, handing a handsome bowl with one hand, while in the other hand are two little vases, probably containing some condiments. Harari calmly smells his lily. The gentlemanly notion of the excel-

lence of indifference is no modern idea. Behind him, or next to him, sits Teta "Son of the sister of the mother of his mother who was an attendant of his majesty." Over each guest is written his name and his relationship to Paheri. A gentleman named Mai has no flower; a servant is approaching him with a full bowl in one hand, and an empty jar in the other. Mai refuses the servant's solicitations, but the man says, "Command me something and I will let thee alone." Clearly if it was etiquette on the part of the guest to exhibit nonchalance, it was the duty of the servant to be importunate. Some people like to be pressed to do what they wish. A little further off Aahmes has offered him a very handsome dish, with a cover, like those used now for vegetables, the fragrance of which overpowers that of the lily bud; he has been persuaded. One is being served by the butler Teta, some servant of renown. There appears to be an abundance of waiters, although not one of the guests is represented as actually taking any of the provision. The ladies are not equally reserved. They engage in vivacious conversation. A servant offers a bowl to Amensat, who declines the wine, but the attendant says, "For thy Ka, drink to drunkenness, make a holiday. O listen to what thy companion is saying, do not weary of taking." We may well listen to her friend, who seems a sprightly damsel. "Nubmehy," she says to the attendant, "Give me eighteen cups of wine, behold I should love to drink to drunkenness; my inside is as dry as straw." Another servant holds up a wine vase to Sensenbet and says, "Drink, do not refuse, behold I am not going to leave you." Whether that means that the attendant will not take "no" for an answer, or that if the lady should become intoxicated there will be some one to take care of her, cannot be clearly ascertained. Her friend Thupu adds to the pressing invitation; she says, "Drink, do not spoil the entertainment, and let the cup come to me; behold, it is due to the prince to drink." This recorded conversation scarcely conveys an exalted idea of the ladydom of that generation. What with taciturn men and ladies talking in this fashion the convivialities of that day do not appear to be specially attractive. Still we should like to have been present. There was possibly some precious wine of good fellowship beneath the froth. The report at the best must be considered incomplete. Whether the call for eighteen cups evidences the lady's capacity, the smallness of the cups, or the weakness of the wine, or really was some brilliant jest, the point of which is lost, we cannot tell. In all probability both wisdom and wit were there. Music was not wanting. There is a grandly dressed band of musicians; one plays a harp of twelve strings, another has castanets, another has a pair of flutes, all indicating skillful harmony.

Would that more of the light conversation of that party had been preserved. We wonder if those stately gentlemen and gay ladies had any thoughts about a certain colony of people from Syria, brickmakers and builders, whose rapid increase was giving anxiety to the government. Had they any care for the oppressed? Paheri is recorded to have uttered a memorable statement to the effect that he "recognized the divine in man." How much of the divine was

there here when the drinking ceased? More perchance than we know of. The stream of history ever brings along the dead leaves, leaving the living flowers behind. These people had immortal souls, they thought about future judgment, they knew of the eternal scales, they believed in God. The artist could draw their bodies, but not their spirits. Their names survive. So do their loves and hates, their thoughts and aspirations, but these were for God and are with God. The guests in all probability enjoyed the festal day, its pleasures, evanescent as the scent of their lilies, came to a close, and each went to his or her appointed sphere of life. And that party, like all parties, has gone "Afay in de ewigheit."

Synopses of Important Articles.

DIE ADRESSATEN DES GALATERBRIEFS (The Persons Addressed in the Galatian Epistle). By DR. CARL CLEMEN, in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, Drittes Heft. Pp. 396-424.

Not a few have taken in hand at present to set forth the arguments for the so-called South-Galatian hypothesis, which understands that the churches addressed in the Epistle to the Galatians are the churches which Paul founded on his first missionary journey. The district called Galatia is the Roman province of that name, which Augustus created in 25 B. C., and includes not only old "Galatia" but the whole central portion of Asia Minor. The question is by no means a new one, but it is being canvassed again. As supporters of this South-Galatian hypothesis Dr. Clemen cites Niemeyer, Paulus, Thiersch, Renan, Hausrath, Weizsäcker, Th. Zahn, Schenkel, Ranke, Havet, Pfeiderer, Völter, Sabatier, O. Holtzmann, Ramsay. While the current view, the so-called North-Galatian hypothesis, which supposes that Paul wrote the Galatian Epistle to certain unnamed and otherwise unknown churches in the small northern district ethnographically called Galatia, churches which he is supposed to have established at the beginning of his second missionary journey, is supported by Usteri, Anger, Rückert, Wieseler, Sieffert, Hilgenfeld, Lightfoot, Mangold, Grimm, Holsten, Davidson, Holtzmann, Weiss, Zöckler, Lipsius, Schürer, Wendt (1888), Godet, Findlay, Chase. The following arguments for the former—the South-Galatian—are then presented by Dr. Clemen. (1) Since the only two passages in the Acts in which the phrase "the Galatian district" occurs tell, one (16:6) of a journey through the land, the other (18:23) of a confirming of the brethren, the founding of the churches is assumed as having taken place; this founding must have been related somewhere, therefore, in Acts 13-14. (2) The Roman province of Galatia must be understood in 18:23, because the road from Antioch in Syria to Ephesus lay naturally through Lycaonia, and Paul would not otherwise have confirmed "all the disciples." (3) The Roman province of Galatia is also to be understood in Acts 16:6, because the direct road to Mysia passed only through it and Phrygia, but not at all through the old Galatia. (4) Since, in the list (Acts 20:4) of representatives of the churches which had contributed to the collection for the saints in Jerusalem no Galatians appear, but only Gaius and Timotheus of Derbe, the Galatian churches are to be looked for in Derbe and the other Lycaonian towns. This assumes that the list given is complete, and that it is so the author goes on to show. (5) It is improbable that Paul preached in the small district of Galatia, because he seems always to have

followed the great military roads and to have preferred the Roman colonies; whereas old Galatia was off the main lines of communication, and could not have been so easily visited by the Judaizers. (6) In the first missionary journey (Acts 13-14) both the haste at first and the change of direction afterward are explained if the "infirmity of the flesh" happened at Antioch in Phrygia. As Paul preached in Perga *afterward* (14:25), there must have been some special reason why he did not do so before. (7) If the Judaizers reproached Paul with occasionally preaching circumcision (Gal. 5:11), they must have alleged some ground for the accusation, such as on the South-Galatian theory is supplied in a striking way by the case of Timotheus. Further, Paul mentions Barnabas as well known to the readers (Gal. 2:1, 9, 13), and since he only accompanied Paul on the first missionary journey, the Galatian churches must have been founded then. Further, when Paul (Gal. 4:9) describes the Jewish feast-keeping of the Galatians as a going back to the weak and beggarly elements, to which they wish again to be in bondage, they must have formerly served similar angel powers, such as Lunus, which was worshipped at Antioch. And finally, the words of Paul (Gal. 4:14), "ye received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus," may point, if not directly to the scene in Acts 14:8 sq., yet to the proverbial kindness and hospitality of the Phrygians. (8) Since Paul, for the most part, employs the names of the Roman provinces, he presumably meant by "Galatia" the Roman province of that name. He always uses Achaia, Asia, Cilicia, Macedonia in this sense, and in cases where he departs from this usage explanations can be given. (9) Supposing the chronology of the Acts to be correct, it follows from Gal. 2:5, "that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you," that the churches of the letter were founded before the apostolic council, and therefore are to be sought in Lycaonia.

We have here a succinct statement of the reasons for the less common view of the destination of the Galatian Epistle. They are worthy of careful consideration. Some of them seem so strong as almost to demand recognition. Besides, there are many difficulties and some unlikely conjectures which support the current theory. Has the time come for a change of view in this particular? It is a question that calls for a thorough investigation and a candid reply. It will not be a difficult matter to adjust the Galatian Epistle to its new—or rather to its original—circumstances, in case that be the verdict. It may be hoped that the discussion will continue until the more probable view of the destination shall be settled and generally accepted.

C. W. V.

CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY. By Z. SWIFT HOLBROOK, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1894.

Social reforms presuppose the reform of individuals. Christianity has for its mission the regeneration of the individual. Sociology leads, therefore, directly to biblical theology, and its very first question is: "What shall I do with Jesus which is called the Christ?"

The historical Christ is not the product of his age, or of the Hebrew genius. He was in strange contradiction to his times. Combining in himself the most opposite traits, he pursued the golden mean commended by Aristotle, and was able to exemplify the ideal citizen of Plato and Cicero in his own life. If all the world were like him, we should have the ideal social condition.

And what is true of his character is true of his teachings. The sociological student will find his task much simplified by adhering closely to Christ's estimate of man—and especially to his view of sin. But great care must be exercised in determining just what Christ's teachings are. There are three methods of ascertaining his mind; the fair interpretation of his words; the interpretation of his actions; the determination of his spirit and motive as they are revealed in his followers of all ages.

While it is desirable thus to learn Christ's mind upon social questions, it must be confessed that he never came to earth to teach political economy, or the science of government, art, or ethics. Nor did he announce his purpose to save society except as society is saved through its units. But the Christian consciousness has evolved a system of economics that so far as our age is Christian and civilized, and is capable of understanding Christ, is simple and clear. Political economy must always go hand in hand with ethics, and sociology looks to both for the data of its generalizations.

Christ's teachings on selfhood and altruism are an attempt to make neither one's self nor one's neighbor=0. The history of various attempts to accomplish either are unnatural and absurd. Selfishness is not self-interest. To confound the two is misleading, and accounts for the pessimistic wails of the chair of Applied Christianity in Iowa College. Indeed, most of the indictments against society today result from confusing the noble traits that have their origin in self=I, with the perversion of those traits based either upon God=0, or neighbor=0, or self=0. The true equations are God= ∞ , self=I, neighbor=I. We account for the equality of self and neighbor only by admitting the infinity of God.

From this interpretation of the Royal Law, we get correct views of the vexed economic and social questions of today. The doctrine of property becomes that of Christian stewardship, which is at once opposed to the ravings of socialists and the avarice of trusts. The doctrine of benevolence includes that of justice and calls out Winchester rifles in defense of property rights, no less than it feeds the hungry. The theory and practice of labor organizations, as well as the proposal of the single-tax theorists, must be tried by this standard of justice.

In the new era that is approaching, the Christ will speak peace to present troubles, and out of the struggles of today will come a new and more Christian civilization.

This article may be regarded as the inaugural address of its author, who, with this number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, becomes the editor of a new department in that magazine—that of Christian Sociology. In the minds of many earnest Christians this

new department will be regarded with some suspicion, since few persons outside a specially interested circle distinguish between sociology and socialism. This unhappy confusion of two terms that resemble each other only in their spelling cannot long continue in the mind of any person who reads this vigorous article. If the new department is to be conducted along such lines as are here predicted, it will be a power in the development of a right attitude of the Christian public towards those social problems that we are forced to admit exist.

Some of the propositions of the author we are inclined to question. His view of the present condition of political economy seems optimistically vague, and his concluding paragraph runs dangerously near mere rhetoric. He further fails carefully to indicate the content of sociology in general, or to justify the use of such an absurd term as Christian Sociology. Why should we speak of a Christian Sociology any more than of a Christian Logic or a Christian History?

It is to be hoped that in the fifty pages of sociological material promised in each issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* a large amount of space will be given to a sober exegesis of such teachings of the New Testament as have any bearing upon social life and institutions. We have had more than enough of undigested, hysterical studies based on what it is *supposed* the New Testament teaches. Let us find out now whether Jesus had any social teachings, and if so, what they really were. And in the meantime if the teachings of Christ are to appear in social studies, let us hope that sociologists will undertake to know a little more about exegesis and "Christian sociologists" a little more about sociology. S. M.

THE MESSIANIC TEACHING OF ISAIAH. By WILLIAM A. SHEDD, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October, 1894. Pp. 575-591.

The critical problems of the Old Testament literature arise from the relations of the literature to the history. The reconstruction of the literature is dependent on a reconstructed history. It is assumed in this paper that the prophetic use of the future is analogous to historical illustration rather than historical narrative, and that prophecy is primarily preaching, and secondarily prediction. The predictive element is itself conditioned by the conscious purpose of the prophets as quickeners of the public conscience, rebukers of national sin, or comforters of the faithful. Therefore every part of prophecy is related to and best interpreted in the circumstances of its delivery. On the other hand the interpretation for the prophet's own day may be a very partial interpretation for our own day. The spirit of prophecy is the spirit of Christ—not the spirit of the age—and "not unto themselves, but unto us did they minister these things."

The comparison of the Messianic teaching with the history shows a close connection between them, resulting in adaptation in the form of the former and progress in content. In Jotham's time the prophet aimed at reformation, and hence presented the ideal holiness of the city and the people. Next, in Ahaz's time the Messianic king was foremost in the prophet's mind. Finally, in Hezekiah's reign, the Messianic salvation is presented in a double aspect, as sure, and hence the sheet anchor for the ship of state, as *abundant*, and

hence a source of comfort to the individual believer. The Messianic teaching may thus be considered in relation to the three great functions of the prophet, as a preacher of righteousness, as a counselor of the state, and as a comforter of the faithful.

As a preacher of righteousness, his Messianic ideals ever stood in striking contrast to the then existing evils. The disgraceful reality is placed side by side with the glorious ideal, which the prophet always declared to be possible. The contrast brought out each the more prominently. When, on the highway of the fuller's field, prophet stood face to face with king, the sight of the faithless, fearful heir of David's throne brought before Isaiah's mind him who should fulfill the covenant made with David. Ahaz and Immanuel stand in sharp contrast—the former of royal birth and luxurious raising, the latter the son of a nameless maiden and nurtured on the plain food of a poor people—curds and honey. Ahaz, weak and vacillating, shall bring down upon his nation in judgment darker days than any since the great disruption (7:17). Immanuel is called Wonderful, Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace, and shall establish the kingdom forever in righteousness (9:6). The strongest rebuke of the actual was the portrayal of the ideal king. In the face of the king's lack of faith the Messiah flashed before the prophet, and was presented to Ahaz as the supreme and final test of faith. To imagine that this "sign" must be of immediate occurrence in order to be applicable to Ahaz, is to deprive Messianic prophecy of its great glory. The emphasis is neither on the time nor the manner of the birth, but upon the certainty of God's purpose therein exemplified, a purpose involving both punishment and deliverance.

As the counselor of the state, Isaiah has given us a series of Messianic pictures, portraying that ideal state which in the divine purpose was to be realized. Here also contrast is one of the most striking elements. Present imperfections are to completely disappear. Even the land itself is to become fertile and well-watered. Foes shall vanish. Zion shall stand unmoved, triumphant. The prophet's faith is unbounded and is based upon the Messianic promise. His theology determined and idealized his political counsels. Thus with his choicest and most spiritual weapons he fought the spirit of political unbelief.

As the comforter of the faithful in their trials and troubles, Isaiah appears with the most glowing Messianic hopes, at two crises in the nation's history. The first is when Sargon invades the Canaanitish world, and the other when, in 701 B. C., Sennacherib carries terror to the very walls of Jerusalem.

When we come to chapters 40–66 we are in a different atmosphere. The point of view, is changed. The central figure is no longer the Messianic king, but the mysterious servant who can scarcely be distinguished from the people. The most plausible explanation is that the change is due to a change in time and place; that an unknown prophet speaks to exiles about to return to Palestine. However, some of the difficulties of such a theory are apparent on its

face, for example, the very suggestion that the greatest of the prophets is an Unknown. Further, there is not a single passage in these sections which contains a definite reference to the Arabian desert as the route of the returning exiles. The whole conception is not in the realm of prosaic geography, but of poetry. The result of pressing this Messianic figure into close conformity with the theory of an exilic authorship is to forget the redemption of the land in the lesser glory of the return. The prophecy even transcends any literal return to Palestine in any age. There is no dividing line between the return of the exiles from captivity and the Messianic age. The fuller and more glorious the Messianic vision, the greater the difficulty in bringing it so near. Likewise the difficulty of conceiving of the servant as undergoing the life of suffering and the death of contumely, and also being the agent in effecting the restoration, is apparent. It is much easier to think of these elements as being blended in the perspective of distance than in the mind of a prophet living in the midst of the exile.

The writer brings out with remarkable clearness the intimate relation between the form and content of each Messianic prophecy, and the circumstances under which it was uttered; and in so doing has accented a point which is often overlooked. When he comes to the consideration of chapters 40-66, one is disappointed to find that he spends most of his time trying to establish their Isaiah authorship with arguments (which with many scholars would hardly counterbalance the opposing data which he himself admits), and consequently hardly touches upon the rich Messianic teachings contained in these chapters. The careful, historical spirit manifested in the treatment of the earlier chapters, leads the reader to hope that at some later period the work thus well begun will be completed.

C. F. K.

DIE NEUEREN KRITISCHEN FORSCHUNGEN ÜBER DIE APOKALYPSE JOHANNIS. VON DR. W. BALDENSPERGER, Professor der Theologie in Giessen, in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, iv. Bd., pp. 232-250.

Recent criticism is essentially theological as contrasted with the older literary-historical. Such at least can be said of all recent work on the Apocalypse. Weizsäcker spoke, perhaps, the first word in the more recent discussion, stating that he had been long of the opinion that we have in the Apocalypse a compilation, some parts of which are, to be sure, of very early date, and testify to the wide exercise of prophetic gift. This theory Weizsäcker discussed elaborately in the second edition of his *Apostolic Age in the Christian Church*. Soon after Völter put forth his theory, not of compilation, but of redaction, distinguishing five layers, ranging from A. D. 65-140. Vischer, a pupil of Harnack, maintained, in 1886, that the book was simply the translation into Greek of a Jewish Apocalypse, written at any rate before 70, with an introduction and conclusion and with comparatively slight interpolation and interpretations throughout by a Christian hand toward the end of the first century. The strongest argument for the hypothesis of Vischer is its amazing

simplicity. He has made luminously clear the fact and nature of the counter-currents of the book. Weyland, a Dutch scholar, had at the same time, with Vischer and quite independently, hit upon a solution differing from Vischer's only in the assumption of two Jewish sources, written in Greek, however, instead of one. The older of these Jewish sources is of the time of Nero; specifically after the defeat of Cestius Gallus, at the time when Vespasian assumed the command. The younger belonged to the time of Titus, and was written by a Jew of the Diaspora who had seen the ruins of Jerusalem. The Christian revision is of the time of Trajan and here, again, the contribution of the Christian author is not large. These two Jewish sources Weyland marks x and 2; the latter so, because we come upon it second in the order of the narrative. It is, however, the older. It begins with chap. 10, and contains 11.1-14:11 and cc. 19:11-21; 20:1-21:8.

The French scholars Sabatier and Schön have turned the hypothesis about and assume that the basis and structure of the book are Christian, and that the author, writing toward the end of the first century, has simply taken up into his work now smaller and now larger pieces of Jewish oracles, familiar and sacred, some of them from before the fall of Jerusalem. Schön has made one thing clear, namely: the fact that much that is to be assigned to Jewish influences is not therewith, by any means, made out as of Jewish authorship; very much of that sort of thing might exist in the mind and memory of a Jewish-Christian author, and influence him perhaps unconsciously. One of the most important contributions is that of Friedrich Spitta (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes untersucht*, 1889). The original writing is a Christian one of John Mark, about 86 A. D.; but this is to be distinguished from the work of a Christian reviser, forty years later, who had, beside the Christian, two Jewish sources at his disposal, one of them of the time of Pompeius, and the second of that of Caligula (the *θηρίον* of c. 13). These are all complete apocalypses, and the redactor has not much to do to work them together. Paul Schmidt in his "Notes on the Composition of the Revelation of John," (1891), goes even farther than Spitta, leaving only introduction and conclusion, the work of redaction, and an occasional interpolation to the Christian hand. The main part of the whole is the so-called "Book of the Messiah," 12:1-22:5, to which were later inserted 14:6-20, and 17:1-19:5. There were altogether three distinct Jewish sources and these are thought to have been translated into Greek by a redactor.

Karl Erber (*Die Offenbarung Johannis, kritisch untersucht*) returns to Völter's and Weizsäcker's theories, agreeing, however, in some details with Spitta (the *θηρίον* of chap. 13=Caligula, etc.). The Caligula apocalypse was incorporated into the larger work of the Apostle John, written in Ephesus, about A. D. 62, and about 80 all the sources were combined by a Jewish Christian, who now refers chap. 13 to the Roman world power and Nero.

Baldensperger believes that the author (or authors) of the Apocalypse, like those of all apocalypses, were not theologians, but preachers, reviving

hope, spreading fear; not logicians but impressionists to whom everything was welcome that helped them to reach their aim. He rejects the hypothesis of the Jewish origin of the original apocalypse (*Grundschrift*) because Christian readers would never be willing to accept such as a Christian book. He holds to a Jewish-Christian origin of the *Grundschrift* (either chaps. 1-10, or 1-7); the Jewish coloring of the later additions would then easily explain the prejudice against the whole book found among early Christians.

Such in briefest terms is the summary of Baldensperger's article, which, being itself a summary, it would be impossible to condense still further without losing the main points under discussion. It is a very able and grasping treatment of all the important contributions toward the criticism of the Apocalypse. Jülicher's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Freiburg, 1894), appeared after the publication of Baldensperger's article. It is interesting to note his position. Jülicher believes in a Jewish-Christian origin of the Apocalypse (*cf.* 11:1, etc.). The author was a Christian from Asia Minor (1:1, 4, 9, etc.), having come there from Palestine in his later years. A study of the linguistic features proves that the author of the Apocalypse cannot have been the same as that of the fourth Gospel and the Epistles, nor can he have been acquainted with that literature. The Apocalypse is the work of a Christian of about A. D. 95, who incorporated into his work at several places older apocalyptic visions, whose origin and original character, Jewish or Christian, it will never be possible to determine with any degree of certainty.

W. M.-A.

Notes and Opinions.

The View of Christ in Mark's Gospel.—M. Schulze, in a recent number of the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (edited by Hilgenfeld), has an important article upon this subject in which he says: "The purpose of the entire Gospel is to be a testimony to the Messiahship and Divine Sonship of Jesus; to the latter, not in the theocratic or ethical sense, but in the proper sense of the word. In this Gospel Jesus is distinguished not merely by moral teaching of extraordinary purity and a unique life, he has a superhuman nature in the most proper sense of the word. And accordingly the imparting of the Spirit at the baptism is not to be conceived in a spiritualistic sense as qualification for office, but as the entrance of a divine substance and energy into him, removing him in every respect from the limits of nature. . . . Certainly the human side is not entirely absent. . . . But the impression of the mysterious, unaccountable, unapproachable fills the foreground. . . . It is everywhere the indescribable greatness, I might almost say the majesty, of the Son of God, which forbids all approach of man, that meets our gaze."

Peter's Visit in Antioch (Gal. 2 : 11-21).—The time and occasion of Peter's presence in Antioch, referred to in Gal. 2 : 11 sq., has recently received extended consideration by Professor Zahn. He holds that this journey of Peter could not have taken place either in the period described in Acts 15 : 35-40, nor in that mentioned in Acts 18 : 22 f., and so must have been before the Jerusalem Conference. According to Acts 12 : 17 Peter left Jerusalem, driven out by the attempt of Herod to put him to death. Whither he went is not known, nor how long he remained, but he is again at Jerusalem in Acts 15 : 7. Between these passages (44-51 A.D.) we must place this visit of Peter to Antioch, when Paul rebuked him because of his inconsistent conduct in declining to eat with Gentile Christians. But it of course could not have been while Paul was absent on his first missionary journey, so we must place this episode at the period presupposed in Acts 13 : 1, before Paul goes to Asia Minor. From this date Professor Zahn thinks the matter can be understood best. The argument is plausible, and the common position given it in the brief period following the Jerusalem Conference before Paul leaves on his second tour has real difficulties, but doesn't the Galatian Epistle indicate quite clearly that the episode was *subsequent* to the Jerusalem Conference?

The Second Coming of Christ according to the Synoptic Gospels.—This is the title of the third paper in the series by Professor J. A. Beet, D.D., now appearing in *The Expositor*. The Second Coming of Christ is depicted in

plain language in Matt. 13:40-43 and 16:27, 28, and in the latter passage this coming is promised within the generation then living. In the parallels, Mark 8:38-9:1 and Luke 9:26, 27, the language of the first verse refers to the second advent, while that of the second verse may be taken to refer to the events of the Day of Pentecost, when the apostles did see the Kingdom of God actually set up on earth in a manner unknown before, and amid a wonderful manifestation of the power of God. And as Christ did not return within that generation, the reference to Pentecost, a possible understanding of the words in Mark and Luke, is to be preferred. What then of the Matthew passage which does not agree with this? It does not give, with as much precision as the second and third Gospels do, the words actually spoken by Christ; "the account given in the first Gospel was colored by the eager hope of the early followers of Christ for their Master's speedy return." In the most important passages bearing upon the subject—Matt. 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21—this coloring affects all three accounts. Jesus predicts the destruction of Jerusalem, and the apostles ask when it will be, and further, (according to Matthew) what should be the sign of his second coming and the end of the age. Then the second coming is made to follow immediately upon the destruction of Jerusalem, and both together appear to be included within the life-time of that very generation. But in Matthew and Mark (not so in Luke) this identification of time is made uncertain by the distinct statement that the day and hour of that second coming of Christ was known to the Father only. "The eager desire of his followers anticipated their Lord's return as close at hand." If he did not know when it would be, it *might* be immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, an event which would seem, to Jews at least, as a fitting end for the then present age. "That Christ left in the minds of some of his disciples this hope of an early return, and that he actually and conspicuously taught that he will come to close the present order of things and to judge all men living and dead, must be accepted, on reliable documentary evidence, as an assured result of New Testament scholarship."

The Theology of the Apostle John.—The recent volume on the *Johannine Theology*, by Professor George B. Stevens, of Yale University, has some instructive remarks on the Johannine type of teaching. Discussing the "Peculiarities of John's Theology," the question is raised, What elements of Christian doctrine is the Johannine theology especially adapted to supply? His answer is as follows: "It will hardly be questioned, I suppose, by any student of theology, that the Johannine type of thought has been far less influential than the Pauline type in shaping the great dogmatic systems. The Christian doctrine of God has usually been developed from the legal conceptions of his nature and relations to men which underlie Paul's Jewish forms of thought. The dominant idea of John concerning the nature of God as light or love has not been the characteristic and central conception of the prevailing historic theologies. It has had its

influence, but it has not occupied the commanding place which it occupied in the mind of the Apostle John. Christian thought concerning God has continued through all the centuries predominantly Jewish, taking its color from the terms of Paul's polemic against Judaism, and growing more and more stereotyped in that form through the influence upon it of the severe logic of certain great minds of a strongly legal cast, such as Augustine, Calvin, and Grotius."

"In direct connection with this legalistic tendency of thought concerning God stands the fact that the soteriology of the Church has been characteristically Pauline. The way of salvation has been expounded in rigid adherence to Paul's doctrine of juridical justification. The Pauline legal mode of thought—rendered natural to his mind by his Jewish education, and made especially necessary by his conflicts with Judaizing errors—has, in great part, given the law to all Christian thinking on the subject. The conception of God's nature as consisting primarily and essentially of retributive justice, the idea of his absolute decrees, and the application of commercial and governmental analogies to the work of his grace in redemption, flow directly out of the Jewish aspects of Paul's thought. It is aside from my present purpose to pursue the inquiry, how far this development of thought was justifiable and wholesome, and how far one-sided and misleading. The fact, however, can hardly be denied that the more mystical and purely ethical methods of thought which are illustrated in John have had but a sporadic influence in historic theology. I venture the opinion that theology would have been vastly deepened and enriched, had the profoundly spiritual thought of John permeated and shaped it in anything like the degree in which the polemics of Paul have done. Without detracting in the smallest measure from the great truths which Paulinism has contributed to Christian thought, it appears to me that there is much reason to desire that the spiritual mysticism of John may, in time to come, acquire its legitimate influence in Christian theology and life. The theology of John is consonant in spirit with that of Paul in its highest ranges; but it represents a mode of thought concerning God and his grace in salvation that is distinctly higher than the legalism of Paul, which he brought over from Judaism, and which supplied his weapons of war against his adversaries rather than furnished his favorite forms for the purely positive expression of the truths of his Gospel. In any case Paul's more legal mode of thought may well be supplemented by John's more spiritual mode; his argumentative handling of religious truth by John's more direct and intuitive presentation of it, and his more analytic method by John's more synthetic method, which binds together all separate truths in the great all-comprehending truth that God is love."

"It is not in the interest of Christian thinking chiefly, but in the interest of Christian life, that I would urge the value of the teaching and spirit of the Johannine writings. The tendency of an increased appreciation and application of John's methods of thought must be to lead to a better adjustment

of doctrine and life. A one-sided adherence to the polemics of Paul—called out by the peculiar conditions of his age—has given to our Protestant theology a formally logical aspect which has often made religion too much a set of opinions, and too little a life of fellowship with God. This tendency has often set dogma above life, and theology above religion. It is certain that theology and religion are inseparable, and that they react upon each other; but religion is primary, theology secondary. . . . Theology is theory, religion is life. . . . Our Lord's primary concern was religion—that men should love and trust God, and live in harmony with his requirements."

The Authorship of the Last Verses of Mark.—It will be remembered that about a year ago an article upon this subject appeared in *The Expositor* (October, 1893), by F. C. Conybeare, of Oxford, in which he brought to bear upon the problem the significant testimony of an Armenian manuscript of the Gospel dating from about 989 A. D., therefore "the oldest known biblical manuscript which contains Mark 16:9-20." After vs. 8 a space of two lines is left blank, following which, in the same handwriting, only in red, are the words *Ariston Eritzou, i. e.*, "Ariston the Presbyter's," and then, still in the same handwriting, come the verses 9-20. This indicates that the author of the twelve verses is a certain Ariston, not Mark. Who was this Ariston? Not, according to Mr. Conybeare, Ariston of Pella, who wrote about 135 A. D., but the Aristion who was one of Papias' authorities (Eusebius' H. E. III. xxxix. 4, 6, 7, 14), and who by reason of his being a chief teacher of Papias and a "disciple of the Lord" was one of the so-called "presbyters." The slight difference in the spelling of the name is no obstacle to this, as both forms are used interchangeably. The inference is that this Aristion himself wrote a narrative of the words and works of Jesus, from which these verses were taken to complete Mark's Gospel, which for some unknown reason ended so abruptly.

This very interesting suggestion of Mr. Conybeare received much attention. Professor Adolph Harnack wrote in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* (November, 1893), agreeing almost entirely with the above theory. Many others also adopted this as a probable view of the facts. Two discussions of special interest, taking a somewhat different view of the problem, were contributed; the first by Prof. Theo. Zahn in the *Theol. Literaturblatt* (December 22, 1893), the second by Dr. Alfred Resch in his *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien*. These two articles were considered of so high importance that Mr. Conybeare was asked to translate them for the readers of *The Expositor*, and they appeared in the issue of that magazine for September (1894).

Professor Zahn agrees with Mr. Conybeare that the probable source of these last verses of Mark was Aristion, the teacher of Papias. But he does not believe that Aristion wrote anything, only that his oral information was

collected and recorded by Papias. The work of Papias was therefore the source of Mark 16:9-20, and Aristion's name was retained in the Armenian title because the narrative here was expressly attributed by Papias to Aristion. But this title refers not to the whole section (vs. 9-20), which certainly cannot be all of *one* origin, but to vs. 14-18, which have peculiarities of their own. What occurred, then, was this, according to Professor Zahn: "Some one who wished to give a fitting ending to Mark's Gospel, which had been left incomplete, used for the purpose not only the Gospels of Luke and John (compare Mark 16:9-13 and 19-20), but also the work of Papias, out of which he took the single narrative, Mark 16:14-18, which Papias had inserted as information derived from Aristion. . . . We may assign as the date of the composition of the appendix to Mark the years 130-140 A. D." This gives a final solution to another problem. The longer form of vs. 14 which Hieronymus quotes (C. Pelag. ii. 15) is not an amplification of the canonical text by a foolish but honest copyist; it is a variant form from the same source, the oral tradition of Aristion.

Dr. Resch takes quite a different view of the whole matter. The verses 9-20 are certainly very early, but they are not Mark's. Whose they are he believes to have been discovered in this Armenian title to the verses. He confirms Mr. Conybeare's opinion and disagrees with Professor Zahn, in thinking that this title cannot designate merely the oral source of the narrative, but designates the actual writer and author of the section. He further disagrees with both Mr. Conybeare and Professor Zahn as to the person named in the title, Ariston. Against their opinion that this was Aristion, the teacher of Papias, Dr. Resch maintains that it was Ariston of Pella. Not that the longer form of the name militates against Mr. Conybeare's theory, but because the first and third Gospels use Mark without this ending (16:9-20), and because this ending does not appear in the two oldest manuscripts we have. "It is unlikely that the Second Gospel should have been rounded off and completed as a literary whole by the addition of the existing canonical ending at any time earlier than that in which our Gospel canon grew up. It is, however, impossible to relegate the formation of our fourfold Gospel canon to so remote an age as that of Aristion, when oral tradition still had so great an influence and such a lofty significance." He believes that there are sure signs that the canonical ending of Mark originated at the same time and along with the Gospel canon. He lays down the rule that "agreement between the Greek codex D, the old Latin versions, and the Syriac of Cureton gives us beyond a doubt the text of the Archetype, that is to say, of the oldest Gospel canon, which was formed about 140 A. D." But these verses, 9-20, appear in the Codex Cantabr., in the Syriac version of Cureton 2, in seven Itale MSS., and in the Diatessaron which depended on these sources, so that they surely belong to the oldest Gospel canon. In a few decades this canon came to be recognized to the exclusion of all others, and through it the end of Mark won the same recognition, being expressly mentioned by Irenaeus

and widely diffused in the manuscripts. "If, therefore, an Ariston was the author of the canonical end of Mark, then the same Ariston must also have been the redactor of the earliest Gospel canon. This two-fold, though at the bottom single, editorial activity cannot in any case be carried back as far as Ariston the teacher of Papias, so that the Armenian title must refer, as Sanday has already conjectured, to no other person than the well-known Ariston of Pella. His activity, beginning not earlier than 135 A. D., lay in the region east of Jordan where, after the destruction of Jerusalem, was the seat of the Bishop of Jerusalem, and the focus of the most ancient and precious form of Judaic Christianity. Pella was the birthplace of the first Gospel, which preserves the Jerusalem traditions (Matt. 27:3-10, 52, 53, 62-66; 28:2-4, 9-15). Towards the same locality is our attention directed by the question of the origin of the oldest Gospel canon, which by setting in the forefront and at its head the Gospel of the Jewish Christians is stamped with its origin in the most characteristic way possible. Ariston's standing in the church, no less than the time and place in which he lived, makes him a fitting person in whom to recognize the redactor of the first Gospel canon and at the same time the author of the end of Mark.

So, after all, Mr. Conybeare's theory, although it found such general and high commendation, is not the only possible one, and the matter can hardly be considered settled. Mr. Conybeare promises in the near future to furnish additional information on the subject, and to offer some criticisms upon the foregoing discussions.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

Local Chapters—The following topics to be used at Chapter meetings during November are suggested. Care should be taken to select such subjects as will make a complete and rounded programme, that is, touching every side of the subject. Not more than five subjects and a map drill should be upon any one programme :

1. Map study : Samaria.
2. Bethlehem in history and prophecy before Christ.
3. The enrollment under Quirinius.
4. Herod and the massacre of the infants.
5. Luke the Evangelist : the man and his purpose in writing.
6. A comparison of the two genealogies.
7. A study of the prophetic songs of Mary and Zacharias with special reference to the Messianic ideas expressed in them.
8. The Magi.
9. The home life of Jesus : an idealized sketch based on our knowledge of Jewish home life in general and the character of Jesus and of his family in particular.
10. The childhood of Jesus as depicted by the great artists.
11. Three visits of Jesus to the Temple, (1) as an infant, (2) as a boy of twelve, (3) at the beginning of his ministry.
12. Hints concerning the silent years from twelve to thirty.
13. John the Baptist, (a) his preparation for his work, (b) the principles embodied in his preaching : were they new ? why startling ? What was their effect ? (c) his attitude toward Jesus and testimony concerning him ; (d) to what extent did he appreciate Jesus' divine nature ?
14. The baptism of Jesus : why was it necessary, or expedient ? What did it signify ?
15. The temptations of Jesus : (1) their peculiar force to Jesus at this time, (2) the reason of their ineffectiveness, (3) their representative character, (4) their comprehensiveness.
16. A characterization of the first five disciples.
17. The marriage in Cana : a study of Jesus' first miracle with special reference to its purpose.
18. Nicodemus : the man ; an analysis of Jesus' discourse with him.
19. At Jacob's well : a sketch of the scene and conversation.
20. The great principles of Christ's teaching and mission ; to what extent are they revealed in these opening chapters ?

A map drill.—A map study should form a part of the programme of each Chapter meeting. Now that we have actually commenced the study of the Gospels it would

be an excellent plan to have some member of the Chapter draw an *outline* map of Palestine upon a square of manila paper, about six by three feet in size. Indicate upon it only the great divisions of the country, the rivers, the mountains, etc. Then at each meeting should be located and added to the map the places referred to in the work of the preceding month or week, as the case may be. Routes should also be traced so far as possible, and indicated and named on this map.

Discussions.—Although discussion is not the most profitable method of learning, in some Chapters a practical turn might be given to the programme by an occasional discussion upon questions which are directly or indirectly suggested by the words or acts of Jesus. Such a subject is suggested by his third appearance at the temple, viz., the legitimate use of a house of worship.

The monthly assignment of reading for the year is given below. There may be slight variations from this, but such will be noticed in the Postal Bulletin of the month in which the variations occur.

October: Seidel—*In the times of Jesus*, pp. 1-93; Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 1-138; BIBLICAL WORLD (July) Geography of Palestine, (August) Editorials and Geography of Palestine. *November:* Seidel—*In the Times of Jesus*, pp. 93-192; Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 138-295; BIBLICAL WORLD (September, October) Editorials, Geography of Palestine. *December:* *Harmony*—Parts I., II., III; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 1-149; BIBLICAL WORLD (November, December) Geography of Palestine, Introduction to Gospels, I. *January:* *Harmony*—Parts IV. and V.; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 149-298; BIBLICAL WORLD (January) Introduction to Gospels, II.; Teachings of Jesus, I. *February:* *Harmony*—Part VI., and Chapter XXV. of Part VII.; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 299-402; BIBLICAL WORLD (February) Introduction to Gospels, III.; Teachings of Jesus, II. *March:* *Harmony*—Part VII., from Chapter XXVI; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 403-491; BIBLICAL WORLD (March) Introduction to Gospels, IV.; Teachings of Jesus, III. *April:* *Harmony*—Part VIII; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 493-776; BIBLICAL WORLD (April) Teachings of Jesus, IV. *May:* *Harmony*—Part IX; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 777-861; Bushnell—*Character of Jesus*; BIBLICAL WORLD (May) Teachings of Jesus, V. *June:* Brooks—*Influence of Jesus*; BIBLICAL WORLD (June) Teachings of Jesus, VI.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

A third Australian Colony, New South Wales, has taken up the work of the Bible Club Course for organizations. A neat little circular, a reprint of the American circular, with local changes, has been issued by the Christian Endeavor Union of the Colony and is already in wide circulation. We quote from the *Golden Link* the organ of the Union, concerning the reception of the plan at the recent convention, "The scheme met with the warmest endorsement of all the speakers. An enthusiastic resolution was carried authorizing the Union to actively prosecute plans for bringing the scheme under the

notice of all Victorian societies. At the chairman's suggestion many gave in their names to the General Secretary as intending members."

The organization of twenty-five new clubs has been reported since the quotations in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* of November.

The largest local Chapter of the Reading Guild thus far reported is from the Third Presbyterian Church of Rochester. Rev. Richard D. Harlan, Pastor. The chapter organizes with twenty-six members, and expects to add several more.

We have received an attractive notice of a special meeting of the Chapter at Hyde Park, Mass., at which Rev. Samuel Freuder will speak on the subject: Childhood recollections of a converted Rabbi.

Syria is this month added to the list of foreign countries in which there are representatives of the Guild, through the Rev. F. T. Hoskins, a missionary at Zahleh.

Although no systematic effort has been made to introduce the work of the Institute in England, much work preparatory to such an introduction has been done by Prof. J. T. Marshall of Sunnyside, Fallowfield Manchester. For several years he has acted as the connecting link between the Institute and a number of correspondence students in Hebrew in England. Prof. Marshall, writes of his work in the *Expository Times* thus: "As to numbers we have surpassed anticipations, and as to the area from which the members are drawn it is almost coterminous with our hemisphere. Missionaries of various denominations are amongst our most zealous students, and they assure us it is a great relief to their loneliness, as well as a stimulus to Bible Study to be in close contact with some sympathetic instructors at home." Steps will doubtless shortly be taken for the introduction of the more popular work in the English Bible.

The Annual Meeting of the Directors of the Institute will take place in New York City, Thursday, December 6, 1894.

The work of the Rev. O. C. S. Wallace, pastor of the Bloor Street Baptist Church, Toronto, is worthy of special mention here. For several years he has carried a class each winter through one of the Institute Courses. His work for the past year included (1) The Inductive Studies in Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon, with a Senior Bible Class. (2) The Life of Christ (Inductive Studies in Luke) with a Junior Bible Class. (3) Outlines of Old Testament History, with a Sunday afternoon Bible Class. (4) Expositions of Isaiah in Sunday evening sermons.

In the December *BIBLICAL WORLD* full announcements will be made in reference to the examinations to be offered by the Institute this year. They will be (1) on the International Sunday School Lessons, (2) to college students in the English Bible, (3) to college graduates entering the Theological Seminary, in Hebrew and New Testament Greek.

An interesting local Institute was held in Normal, Ill., Saturday and Sunday, November 17, 18. The speakers and subjects were as follows: The

Bible and Civilization, Rev. James Miller (Normal). The Origin of New Testament Literature, Mr. C. W. Votaw (University of Chicago). The Right and Wrong use of the Bible, Dr. W. P. Kane (Bloomington). The Teaching of Jesus, Mr. Votaw. The Teachers of Old Israel and their Writings, Dr. C. F. Kent (University of Chicago). The Literary Merits of the Bible, Dr. E. C. Hewitt (Normal). A Hebrew Love Story, Dr. Kent. Present Possibilities of Bible Study, Dr. Kent. Question boxes were conducted by Dr. Kent and Mr. Votaw. The meetings were held in the various churches of the town, all denominations uniting. Every session was well attended, and on Sunday the audiences were so large that in the evening an overflow meeting became necessary. It is said that two teachers, living fifteen miles out in the country, beyond the reach of Sunday trains, drove in and out again, rather than miss the meetings. If we can read the times by such signs as these, there is truly an awakening on the subject of Bible study. The Institute was held under the auspices of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations of the State Normal University.

Work and Workers.

THE second part of the German edition of Schürer's *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ* is already out of print, and a new edition (the third) is in preparation, which will later be followed by a third edition of the first part. There will be but few changes in the text of the volumes, but the notes and bibliographical notices will, of course, be brought up to date.

AN investigation has been made by Dr. Dalman, a competent authority, as to the number of Jews now in the cities of Palestine. His estimate 'gives (the parenthetic number is the *total* population) in Jerusalem, 40,000 (50,000); Gaza, 85 (16,000); Jaffa, 2,500 (10,075); Er-Ramle, 175 (8,561); Hebron, 1,600 (15,225); Nâblus, 99 (20,000); Acco, 150 (9,800); Haifa, 1,640 (8,140); Tiberias, 2,900 (4,500); Safed, 12,000 (19,120); Sidon, 800 (10,000); El-Bugea, 120; Shefa-Amr, 60. There are also as many as twenty-nine Jewish agricultural colonies, with some four thousand colonists, who devote themselves largely to the cultivation of the vine and the raising of fruits. These colonies were established by the Rothschilds.

A PAPHYRUS book has been found in the Fayyum which contains a portion of the Septuagint, from Psalms 11 : 7 to 14 : 4, written in very neat uncials, which probably belongs, judging by the character of the writing, to the fourth century. It is thus some older than the Vatican Codex, up to this time the oldest manuscript of any portion of the Greek Bible. Copyist's errors are many, and the fragment is, perhaps, of no special textual value. Papyrus fragments of the latter part of Zechariah and the first part of Malachi in the Septuagint, which were exhibited and discussed at the Oriental Congress in London two years ago as perhaps coming from about 300 A.D., have been, by better judgment, assigned to a date not earlier than the seventh century.

APROPOS of a recent note in this department advocating a new edition of the Revised Version, with a good many much-needed modifications as to helps and conveniences, a correspondent writes to suggest that, in addition to the improvements indicated in that paragraph, this farther one be also made : Let the page number be removed from the upper outside corner of the page to the centre of the bottom of the page, and let its place in the upper outer corner be occupied by a statement of the exact material contained on the page, *e.g.*, 16 : 20-17 : 32. Of course this change should be made. We add it with emphatic approval to the list of improvements which will make the new and better edition of the Revised Version that must, in the nature of things, be published somewhere by somebody soon.

A BOOK is shortly to be published in Germany by Licentiate Herman Gunkel, now privat-docent in Halle, from which much is expected by scholars of widely different schools of theology. It will be entitled *Schöpfung* (Creation), and deals with the influence of the ideas of the Babylonian religion on the forms in which the Hebrew and Christian ideas were expressed. The underlying thought of the book is that the Babylonian myth of creation was used also for the representations of the end of the world, when the watery chaos monsters should be finally and decisively conquered by God. The forms of this myth, used to describe either the creation or the consummation of the world, Gunkel has traced in many passages of the Old Testament, the development culminating in the first chapter of Genesis; and also in the apocalyptic literature. The book will offer a great mass of fresh exegetical material for both the Old Testament and the New; and, it is anticipated, will shed much light on the vexed question of the Revelation. It has been written, in part, in collaboration with the well-known Assyriologist, Professor Zimmern, of Leipzig.

A SERIES of articles is announced for the near future in the *Expository Times*, on the *Theology of the Epistle to the Romans*. They are to be written by Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, of Oxford, who has been working together with Professor Sanday on the Epistle, and he will present Dr. Sanday's position as well as his own. Another series is to be upon *Twenty Misused Scripture Texts*, the writer of which signs himself "M. D.," which being interpreted is (probably) Marcus Dods. The papers upon *Leading Theologians* are to be continued through the new volume, and among them Professor Adolf Harnack will be described by an attached pupil of his, Rev. D. Macfayden, M.A., Principal Stewart will write of Professor Pfeiderer, Principal Davies will write of Professor Dillmann, Bishop Lightfoot will be presented by Professor Salmond, Bishop Westcott by Professor Ryle, and Dr. Hort by the Dean of Emmanuel, Mr. Gwilliam will describe Dean Burgon, Professor Kennedy will describe Professor König, Professor Hermann will be presented by Rev. David Eaton, and Professor Kuyper by the Rev. J. P. Lilley. This does not complete the list, but is in itself a large promise. Each article is to be accompanied by a full and accurate bibliography of each eminent scholar's works.

THE question as to what is still unsettled in the identification of places in the city of Jerusalem is given the following answer by Major Conder: "Comparing the works of Robinson, Warren, Sir C. W. Wilson in Smith's "Bible Dictionary" (new edition), article "Jerusalem," and Conder, it appears that these are the points still left in dispute among specialists: (1) Where is the term "City of David" to be applied? (2) Where should the term "Akra" be written? As to this Wilson differs from the other three writers above mentioned, they being in accord. (3) What is meant by Zion? On this there is no accord; I regard it as a poetical term for Jerusalem. (4) Where were the

kings buried? The tomb has not been found for certain. (5) How did the third wall run on the west? Its remains have not been found. (6) What was the extent of Herod's Temple? Robinson, De Vogüé, Warren, and I agree against the view of Wilson, who alone maintains that Josephus has given the real measurements; others believe that Josephus' measurements are contradicted by the existing remains on the site. (7) There is a very general inclination in England to accept the site for Calvary north of the city, first advocated on certain grounds by myself, and to reject the traditional site as impossible."

A NOTABLE work has just reached completion in Germany. It is Kautzsch's translation of the Old Testament into the German. The translation is made with the purpose of embodying, as far as a simple translation can, the thoughts and allusions of the biblical writers as they appear in the light of the present literary, historical, and exegetical criticism. Kautzsch and his collaborators have therefore done for the Old Testament what Weizsäcker had already accomplished for the New, and the value of such a commentary upon the Scriptures is indicated by the fact that Weizsäcker's translation of the New Testament has gone through seven editions already. The two together, covering the whole Bible, will be a most important help to every Bible student—they are books to own if one can read the German. They are models which English scholars should hasten to duplicate in our own language. Kautzsch's translation is the united work of eleven representative and moderate Old Testament scholars. The contributions were as follows: Kautzsch himself translated Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Joshua (with some exceptions), also Isaiah 36–39, Jonah, Nahum, Psalms, Chronicles; Baethgen, of Greifswald, translated Job, Song of Songs, Lamentations; Guthe, of Leipzig, translated Isaiah, 1–35, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Habakkuk; Kamphausen, of Bonn, translated Kings and Proverbs; Kittel, of Breslau, translated Judges, Samuel, and Ruth; Marti, of Basel, translated Deuteronomy, Joel, Obadiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Daniel; Rothstein, of Halle, translated Jeremiah and Zephaniah; Rüttschi, of Bern, translated Ecclesiastes; Ryssel, of Zürich, translated Isaiah 40–66, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; Siegfried, of Jena, translated Ezekiel; Socin, of Leipzig, translated Exodus 1–24, 32–34, Leviticus 10:29–13:1, Joshua 21–24, and Isaiah 1–11. Five years have been spent in the accomplishment of the work. A system of annotations accompanies the translation indicating in detail the dates and relations of the entire material of the Old Testament, according to the consensus of modern critical conclusions.

THE most favorable review that we have yet seen of M. Notovitch and his *Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* (about which two paragraphs have already appeared in this journal) is contributed by Professor Max Müller to the *Nineteenth Century* for October. He endeavors to think charitably of the author while pronouncing and showing his work to be worthless. He thinks that M.

Notovitch, starting from the idea put forward by some that Christ was influenced by Buddhistic doctrines, went to Tibet with the expectation or purpose of finding some account of the Life of Christ which would show this. When his search was made known there were shrewd individuals who saw to it that he should find the object of his search, which he did—at a good price. “Taking it for granted,” says Professor Müller, “that M. Notovitch is a gentleman and not a liar, we cannot help thinking that the Buddhist monks of Ladakh and Tibet must be wags, who enjoy mystifying inquisitive travelers, and that M. Notovitch fell far too easy a victim to their jokes. . . . He is not the first traveler in the East to whom Brahmans or Buddhists have supplied, for a consideration, the information and even the manuscripts which they were in search of.” M. Notovitch then, he thinks, was quite too credulous. Two things in the account given by the monks who deceived Notovitch are “impossible, or next to impossible.” “First, that the Jews from Palestine who came to India in about 35 A. D., should have met the very people who had known Issa when he was a student at Benares; second, that this *Sûtra* of Issa, composed in the first century of our era, should not have found a place either in the Kandjur or in the Tandjur. . . . These are the two collections (333 volumes in all) which contain everything that was considered old and classical in Tibetan literature. . . . We possess excellent catalogues of manuscripts and books of the Buddhists in Tibet and China. . . . If M. Notovitch had been better acquainted with this literature he would never have allowed his Buddhist hosts to tell him that this Life of Jesus was well known in Tibetan literature, though read by the learned only.” “If this explanation [that the Buddhist monks deceived M. Notovitch], the only one I can think of, be rejected, nothing would remain but to accuse M. Notovitch, not simply of a *mauvaise plaisanterie*, but of a disgraceful fraud.” “If there is anything that might cause misgivings in our mind as to M. Notovitch’s trustworthiness, it is the way in which he speaks of his friends.” Professor Müller then goes on to show how the author’s statements regarding his relation to a certain cardinal at Rome and M. Renan in the matter of publishing his book are entirely unlikely and conflicting. He criticises also M. Notovitch’s treatment of the missionaries in Tibet. They have written saying that he never broke his leg nor was nursed in the monastery at Himis. M. Notovitch replies: “How can I tell that these missionaries have not themselves taken away the documents of which I saw the copies at the Himis monastery?” But that is unlikely if, as M. Notovitch, at an earlier time, stated, the missionaries at Leh are distrusted by the people, and the monks would never have shown them the manuscript. Professor Müller puts at the close of his article a letter which, singularly enough, he chanced to receive while writing his article, from an English lady then traveling in India, and postmarked Leh, Ladakh, June 29th. The portion of the letter which concerns this subject is as follows: “We left Leh two days ago, having enjoyed our stay there so much! There had been only one English lady here for over three years. Two German

ladies live there, missionaries, a Mr. and Mrs. Weber—a girl, and another English missionary. They have only twenty Christians, though it has been a mission station for seven years. . . . Yesterday we were at the great Himis monastery, the largest Buddhist monastery up here—800 Lamas. Did you hear of a Russian who could not gain admittance to the monastery in any way, but at last broke his leg outside, and was taken in? His object was to copy a Buddhist Life of Christ which is there. He says he got it, and has published it since in French. There is not a single word of truth in the whole story! There has been no Russian there. No one has been taken into the Seminary for the past fifty years with a broken leg! There is no Life of Christ there at all! It is dawning on me that people who in England profess to have been living in Buddhist monasteries in Tibet, and to have learned there the mysteries of Esoteric Buddhism, are frauds. The monasteries, one and all, are the most filthy places. The Lamas are the dirtiest of a very dirty race. They are fearfully ignorant, and idolaters *pur et simple*; no—neither pure nor simple. . . .”

With this we trust that we may be excused from making further reference to this disagreeable matter. In spite of Professor Müller's charitable judgment of M. Notovitch, the letter attached seems to vindicate the judgment which critics of the *Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* have almost unanimously pronounced, that the author has perpetrated upon the public a deliberate, carefully prepared and wretched fraud.

Book Reviews.

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians. By JAMES DENNEY, B.D. The Expositor's Bible. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1894, pp. 387. Price, \$1.50.

This is a commentary that is profitable and interesting even for continuous reading. It is readable throughout. The language of the apostle is dissolved so imperceptibly into comment, and the whole is so like the original that the book seems simply a strong dilution of the epistle. One cannot but remark how completely the commentator identifies himself with his author, and lovingly makes his own words solely a mirror for the reflection of the profound meaning of the original.

The author finds the epistle full of references to Paul's life, and the elucidation of this experience in the light, so to speak, of a more modern and more fully expressed experience is one of the charms of the book. There may be, in this feature, a possible tendency to fullness of statement and the appearance of a slight homiletical element; but this is hardly to be regretted in a commentary of such a nature.

The author is very close to the heart of Paul; he talks familiarly of his meaning as a preacher does of his text. The apostle is a living preacher, for whom the author has the profoundest admiration.

The book is not wholly void of textual and grammatical comment. Wherever necessary, they are introduced in an unpretentious way, and rather enhance the value of the total result. An introductory chapter discusses the date and some of the particular questions of the epistle, putting it soon after our first epistle, at a time when the apostle had received news from Titus of the effect of the first letter. The close relationship of our two epistles is emphasized.

The book is divided into chapters, according to the advance of thought in the epistle, some chapters comprising many verses and others few. On the whole, the book is a very worthy number to rank with some of the other excellent volumes in the Expositor's Series.

C. E. W.

Original Notes on the Book of Proverbs, Vol. III. By Rev. S. C. MALAN, D.D. London: Williams & Norgate, 1893. Large 8vo. pp. 1-499.

This volume treats of chapters 21-31, thus completing the series. The notes upon each individual proverb are of two kinds: (1) Textual and critical, including a study of the Hebrew text and a comparison of this with the other versions. It is greatly to be regretted that here, as in the otherwise

admirable Cambridge Bible series, the Authorized Version is adopted. In these critical notes, which are neither exhaustive nor scholarly, the author has given us a translation which is very similar to that of the Revised Version, and in only a few cases superior. (2) Proverbs, fables, and sayings, kindred in thought, gathered from the lore of all ages and peoples. This part of the work is both interesting and exceedingly valuable. The mass of material thus collected is in quantity overwhelming. The book would be much more usable and more widely read had the selection been more carefully made, and consequently much, which is not directly *apropos*, omitted.

It is, however, a most interesting study in comparative proverbology. Although the maxims are drawn from all sources, the predominance of those coming from the mouths of Oriental sages, demonstrates that the East is the true home of the proverb. One is also repeatedly impressed by the old truth that human nature is the same in all times and lands. The similarity in form of expression as well as in thought, in cases where plagiarism was impossible, is most striking. The biblical proverb, for example, "To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice," finds its echo in the advice given by Bhishma: "Piety is better than sacrifice." The Pythagorean Demophilus strikes the same high key: "God is not honored by gifts and sacrifices, neither do offerings to his temple adorn him in any way. But a sense of godliness unites man sufficiently to God. For the like must of necessity meet its like." As the reader discovers one gem after another of the world's stored-up wisdom, he finds his reverence for the divine truth contained in the Hebrew anthology undiminished; but with this there springs up a genuine appreciation of the degree of light vouchsafed to nations which he perhaps had been accustomed to regard as benighted.

Mirrored here, one is also enabled to study the individual characteristics of each nation. For example, the stay-at-home Hebrews said: "As a bird that wandereth from her nest, so is a man that wandereth from his place." The Finns affirm the same in their characteristic saying: "A strange land is a bilberry; one's own land is a strawberry." Ajtoldi betrays the same love for home: "Being a stranger is very hard for a man." In strong contrast is the proverb of the cosmopolitan Greeks: "For him who is well-to-do, and who behaves well towards others, the whole world is his own country," or of the Japanese: "The frog at the bottom of the well knows nothing of the great sea."

Not a few suggestions as to the true exegesis of obscure Hebrew proverbs are to be found in these kindred maxims. The variously interpreted biblical saying, "As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man," is illuminated by the Turkish proverb, "Man is the mirror of man." Similarly the Mongol says: "In order to see oneself, one requires a looking-glass," and the Arab adds, "A man is his brother's looking-glass." If we accept the ordinary interpretation of the Hebrew proverb, "A poor man that oppresseth the poor is like a sweeping rain that leaveth no food," it is confirmed by the

Hindoo saying, "A mean man, greedy of gain, becomes intolerable when in office," or that of Mangadu Setchen, "Do not get for a ruler one brought up to be a common man."

Thus, to the student who would study the Book of Proverbs as a part of the world's gnomic literature, this work will be found a most valuable aid. The arrangement, or rather the lack of arrangement, is truly Oriental, but patience will not be unrewarded. Even the casual reader will find both pleasure and profit in this rich collection of man's wit and wisdom.

C. F. K.

Introduction to the Talmud. Historical and Literary Introduction, Legal Hermeneutics of the Talmud, Talmudical Terminology and Methodology, Outlines of Talmudical Ethics. By M. MIELZINER, Ph.D., Professor of Talmud at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. Chicago: Bloch & Co., 1894. Pp. 293. Price \$2.50.

Jesus Christ in the Talmud, Midrash, Zohar, and the Liturgy of the Synagogue. Texts and Translations by Dr. GUSTAF DALMAN, Director of the *Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum*; together with an Introductory Essay by HEINRICH LAIBLE, translated and edited by Rev. A. W. STREANE, Fellow of Corpus Christi College. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1893. Imported by Macmillan & Co., New York. Pp. 47+108.

To all but a very few biblical students, and even scholars, the Talmud is known only by name. The fact that its contents are not today practically important leads us almost to forget their historical importance. The twelve folio volumes which constitute this great Jewish literary monument embody the mental labors of the ancient Jewish teachers during a period of some eight hundred years, according to Dr. Mielziner, from 300 B. C. to 500 A. D. Their work, as mirrored in these records, was directed particularly to the exposition and development of the religious, moral, and civil laws of the Bible. Mingled with this material are many wise observations, ethical maxims, beautiful legends and parables, and valuable historical, ethnographical and scientific material. It is a remarkable production. In the Middle Ages it exerted an authority only second to that of the Bible itself, but at present its influence even upon the Jews is much less than formerly, while other nationalities give it little attention, even from an historical point of view. Modern Hebrew scholars lead, of course, in the study of the Talmud, and America has contributed in no small degree to the current knowledge, as may be seen by the list of works which the author cites as auxiliaries to Talmudic study. Germany, however, is doing most in this field of research, as in many others, and quite a literature exists already, with additions being constantly made. Professor Strack, of Berlin, has just issued a new and improved edition of his *Einleitung in den Thalmud* (Leipzig: Hinrichsche Buchhandlung), a work of high value; and a new edition of Wünsche's translation of the Babylonian Talmud, with notes,

has been begun, to be completed in twenty parts (Berlin: Felber). Quite a little work, too, is being put upon the Talmud in France. It will, therefore, be seen that the literature upon the Talmud accessible to the student in English is very scant—only fragments of the Talmud itself can be had in English translation, and the many treatises are in German and French. English Talmudic study has made but a beginning.

The two works whose titles are herewith given in full make a splendid advance along this line, and may well be procured as the first volumes toward a Talmudic shelf in one's library.

Dr. Mielziner's *Introduction to the Talmud* is an excellent work. There is nothing of its kind in the English language, and even Professor Strack's German *Einleitung* is not so comprehensive. There is nowhere else to look for a large portion of the material which our author gives. He has brought together in this comparatively small volume the results of many years' research and of long experience as a teacher of the Talmud in a Hebrew college. The practical value of the contents of the book may be seen from the chapter headings of Part I., Historical and Literary Introduction. They are: The Mishna, Works Kindred to the Mishna, The Authorities of the Mishna, The Expounders of the Mishna, The Gemara, Apocryphal Appendices to the Talmud, Commentaries on the Talmud, Epitomes and Codifications, Manuscripts and Printed Editions, Auxiliaries to the Study of the Talmud, Translations of the Talmud, Bibliography of Treatises on Talmudic Subjects, Opinions on the Value of the Talmud, Why Study the Talmud. The other three parts of the work are equally useful and interesting, furnishing information and guidance as to just those aspects of the Talmud which one feels impelled to investigate. One need not look further nor wait longer for a competent handbook to the study of the Talmud, and with such a handbook available the current ignorance of Talmudic literature will hardly in the future be excusable.

The other volume here considered, *Jesus Christ in the Talmud*, discusses a subject of very large interest, though little has ever been written about it in English. The book is made up of two parts, as the title shows. The first portion contains in unpointed Hebrew the forty-three passages from the Talmudic literature, with fifteen more from the Liturgy of the Synagogue, in which Jesus is understood to be referred to. These texts were collated and translated by Dr. Dalman. The second portion of the volume contains an essay by Herr Heinrich Laible, translated into English by Mr. Streane, upon Jesus Christ in the Talmud. Besides the translation of this essay, Mr. Streane has added brief footnotes and the indexes. The editing of Dr. Dalman's and Herr Laible's essays so that they could be issued in this valuable English volume was a commendable piece of work on Mr. Streane's part, but one is at a loss to know why he should presume to put his own name rather than those of Dalman and Laible upon the back cover, thus: "CHRIST IN THE TALMUD. STREANE." It has not been customary for a translator, or even for an editor, to place his name *alone* on the cover title.

One might suppose that the Talmud would contain much discussion as to the person, the acts, and the teaching of Jesus, since it arose partly during his career and the infancy of Christianity. But exactly that is what is not found, for in the Talmud Jesus is very seldom spoken of, and but little is known of him. This is indeed surprising, but Herr Laible endeavors to explain the fact by remarking that the growth of the Church was ever developing itself less under the eyes of the Jews, Christianity passing soon from Palestine and Babylon, the seats of Jewish study and activity, to the nations farther west. It was, therefore, possible for them to ignore Jesus in the main. They could not know much about him because the writings of the Christians concerning him were burned rather than read. What little reference is made to him is fanciful rather than historical. They regard him as a seducer of the people and a sorcerer and a fool who had given himself out to be God. Herr Laible is particularly anxious, in writing this essay, to show to Jews themselves that their Talmud is not a trustworthy historical record as regards its view of Jesus, because it had neither the disposition nor the opportunity to tell the truth about him. He therefore directs the Jews to look to the Christian Scriptures to ascertain the facts about Jesus, and thinks that if they can thus turn from the Talmud to the New Testament they will be set right in their attitude toward their own Messiah. Every biblical student will wish to see for himself these passages from the Talmud about Jesus, so that the book will doubtless and deservedly have a large sale.

C. W. V.

Eastern Customs in Bible Lands. By H. B. TRISTRAM, D.D., LL.D., etc., Canon of Durham, author of "The Great Sahara," "Land of Israel," etc. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1894. Pages viii. and 262. Price, \$1.50.

Canon Tristram is well known to every student of the Bible through his contributions to biblical literature along the line of natural history. During his study and sojourn in the East he has picked up many valuable specimens of ancient customs illustrative of the pages of Holy Writ. These he has grouped together under twelve chapters or discussions or chats. Some of the titles are the following: "Jesus as Teacher and Healer," "Journeying in the East," "Eastern Dwellings and Eastern Feasts," "Pastoral and Agricultural Life," "Military System; Wars and Sieges," "Eastern Jurisprudence," "Trade and Money." The author is a vivid writer, describing just enough of detail to invest his narrative with a delightful interest. Customs, old and yet new to the reader, follow in rapid succession, and hold the reader's closest attention. There is little of monotony in so novel a topic, and the student's thought is carried on to the end with an ever-increasing momentum of interest. To begin to specify particular cases of new-old Oriental customs and thought would be simply to aggravate the reader and bring this writer under the ban. This work is somewhat similar to that of Dr. Trumbull's, noticed last month,

but they rarely cross each other's tracks. Both can be read with profit, and both make distinct contributions to the cause of biblical learning. Suffice it to say, that we cannot have too many books with the freshness and newness in material of this one of Canon Tristram.

PRICE.

Landmarks of Old Testament History: Samuel to Malachi. By Cunningham Geikie, D.D., LL.D. New York: James Pott & Co., 1894. Pp. x., 525. Price, \$1.50.

This book consists chiefly of a collection of papers contributed to the *Sunday School Times* in connection with the weekly lessons of the Sunday School. They are written in the easy, pleasant style characteristic of the author, and convey a certain amount of instruction. The material is diluted biblical narrative, with added explanatory hints. No contribution is made to the knowledge of the reasonably instructed Bible student. What is contained could with greater profit be worked out by the less enlightened student from more original sources. Where there is little time at one's disposal for study, combined with little inclination to original and industrious investigation, this book finds a certain fitness. But it must be confessed that one fails to see any strong reason for its purchase on the part of any other class of persons.

G. S. G.

The Gospel of Buddha according to Old Records. Told by Paul Carus. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1894. Pp. xiv., 275. Price, \$1.50.

The idea that has inspired Dr. Carus in this volume is an excellent one. We have had enough of the highly colored modern re-creations of the doctrines and life of Buddha where an inextricable complex of early and late, foreign and native, materials is worked together and turned out into mellifluous verse. What does Buddhism say for itself? This is the important question. Dr. Carus has attempted to answer it by gathering into this book the most striking and characteristic passages from the Buddhist writings of the olden time. Both narrative and doctrinal materials are presented, and the reader cannot fail to gain a surer notion of the Buddhism of the early days than from uncritical poems and descriptive manuals.

The compiler shows that he knows where to go for his materials. He disclaims the intention of producing a scientific work, and, while he nowhere definitely affirms that he is unfamiliar with the originals, his method of selection from various translations suggests that he is not a first-hand worker. To know what to choose at second-hand, however, is no ordinary qualification, and such knowledge is evident in the pages of this book. We feel that an error of judgment has been made in the modification of some of these materials, if it is modification that is suggested by the statement that "some [passages] are rendered rather freely in order to make them intelligible to the

present generation." Nor can we see any reason for the composition by the compiler of three introductory chapters and three concluding chapters and some other material, even though he asserts that these are "neither mere literary embellishments nor deviations from Buddhist doctrines." It is an unwise yielding to the desire for completeness. Dr. Carus thinks that he is dealing with Buddhist material as the author of the Fourth Gospel used the accounts of the life of Jesus of Nazareth. This may be true, but yet, with all respect to Dr. Carus, we can hardly regard him as so trustworthy a representative of the spirit of Buddhism as the before-mentioned writer was of the spirit of Christ.

It is also inexcusable, even in a book which is intended for popular circulation, to mix up early and late material in the way in which it has been done in this volume and label it "The Gospel of Buddha." To admit material even from the *Lalita Vistara* alongside of material from the *Mahavāgga* or early *Suttas* is to commit a grave critical blunder, and utterly to mislead the very persons for whom the book is intended. It is equal to compiling a "Gospel of Christ" from the original and apocryphal Gospels indiscriminately. Of course Dr. Carus gives his sources, but what is the general reader expected to know about the dates of the material? If the work had been divided into two parts, the first presenting the Hinayana sources, and the second, the material from the Mahayana writings, nothing would have been lost from the point of view of the popular impression, and everything would have been gained from an historical and critical point of view, *i. e.*, in accuracy and trustworthiness. We regret to be compelled to present this criticism of so well-meaning and otherwise carefully prepared a book as this of Dr. Carus. But simply because it could have been done so much better, if the desire for completeness and impression had not put into the background historical and critical considerations, are we compelled to confess that "The Gospel of Buddha" with all its excellencies cannot be recommended as a wholly safe guide to the knowledge of Buddha and the teachings which are ascribed to him. For classes of students under the direction of a competent teacher it has a very considerable sphere of usefulness, since it is the only collection of Buddhist material from so many sources that can be obtained in so convenient a form and at so reasonable a price.

G. S. G.

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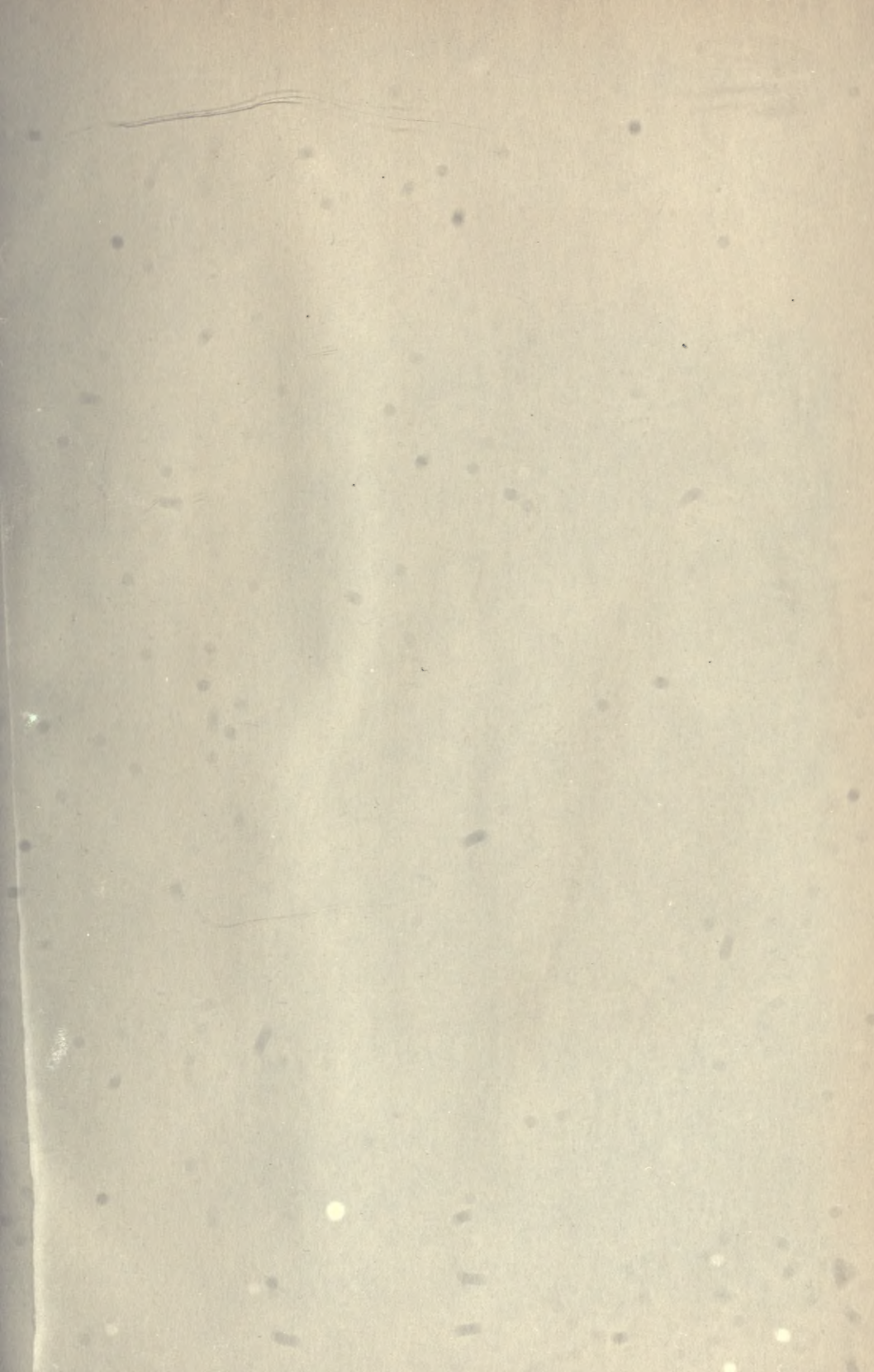
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